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OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER

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RECENT BOOKS IN REVIEW

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for Teachers and Students of History

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Personalist Mission of the Catholic Worker

Donald A. Gallagher

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THE future of a new Christendom, according to Jacques Maritain, depends primarily upon a full and inward realization of a certain lay Christian vocation in a certain number of hearts; it also depends upon the resurgence of the Christian spirit not only among the intellectual élite, but also among the masses of the people.¹ The Catholic Worker has proclaimed that scholars must become workers, and workers scholars. Although this dictum is sometimes taken in a literal sense, in which it cannot prove a very practicable philosophy of life, it contains the profound insight that there must be a greater bond of communion between intellectual and manual workers and a sharing of the respective pains and joys of their diverse functions in the common task of rebuilding a Christian social order. The two-fold contribution of the Catholic Worker Movement to American Catholic life is summed up in the prediction of Maritain given above—the Catholic Worker has brought the social message of the Gospel to the workers; it has brought, in many instances, the intellectuals into closer contact with the workers; it has gone to the poor. Secondly, it has aroused in many souls a sense of vocation, that is, a realization of the need for a personal dedication to the apostolate.

Within the brief compass of this article, let us try to capture the spirit of this dynamic movement by considering its history, program, and philosophy, and venture an objective estimate of its significance by determining its probable influence in the history of American Catholicism.

The History and Program of the Catholic Worker

The dramatic story of the origins of the Catholic Worker and of its leaders, Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin, has often been told. There is something symbolic of the spirit of Catholicism in our time and in our country in the fact that one of these leaders is a convert to Catholicism from a milieu of socialist and communist influences, (although she was never officially a member of the Communist Party),² and the other is an immigrant bringing with him the rich Catholic traditions of

the French peasantry. It is tempting to recount the tale, but read once again, if you will, the story of Dorothy Day herself in *From Union Square to Rome*, and *House of Hospitality*. Read the *Easy Essays* of Peter, which is the nearest thing to his autobiography you will get from this man so interested in the human person, so disinterested in his own personality. To visualize the movement through the eyes of sympathetic observers, read the article of Fr. H. A. Reinhold in *Blackfriars*, September, 1938, and *La révolution verte*, by Robert Kothén, a leader in the social apostolate of Europe, in whose translation the essays of Peter take on new power and the reflections of Dorothy Day recall the impassioned indignation of Leon Bloy against injustice.³

The first issue of *The Catholic Worker* was distributed among the participants and spectators at the annual parade of Communists and radical groups in the vicinity of Union Square, New York City, on May Day, 1935. Its very title a dramatic appeal to the workers and a challenge to Communism, the little paper was, in the words of its first editorial, addressed to those who walked the streets in the all but futile search for work, to those who thought there was no hope for the future. It called their attention to the fact that the Catholic Church has a social program, and that there were men of God working not only for their spiritual but for their material welfare.

"The rest is history," as the *Chicago Catholic Worker* commented sagely, some years later, in 1940. Seven years, (do not smile, you historians who dwell in the centuries), seven years may be an instant or an epoch in the life of the Mystical Body and in the progress of the City of God upon earth. What had those years witnessed?

1933-1935. By establishing a propaganda center, publishing the *Catholic Worker*, and giving numerous lectures, Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin aroused the social consciousness of Catholics throughout the country. But they did not merely preach the social message of the Encyclicals; they practiced the works of mercy, and in

³ Dorothy Day's first book was published by The Preservation of the Faith, Silver Springs, Md., the second by Sheed and Ward, New York City, as was Peter's book. For a recent article on Peter Maurin see *Today*, official organ of the Chicago Inter-Student Catholic Action Organization (CISCA), March 18, 1947. In the preface to Robert Kothén, *op. cit.*, the great leader of the Belgian JOC movement, Canon Cardijn, states: "Nous ne sommes pas obligés de souscrire à toutes les sentences de Maurin, comme nous pouvons croire que certaines de ses expressions sont outrées . . . mais l'esprit qui anime Maurin et qui lui dicte ses sentences, comme il inspire ses réalisations, cet esprit-là est le plus pur esprit de l'Evangile, qu'il nous aide à redécouvrir . . ."

¹ Vid. Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme intégral*, Paris: Aubier, 1936, p. 243; (English translation, New York: Scribner's, 1938, p. 222). For an explanation of the term 'vocation' in this sense, see Fr. William O'Connor, *The Layman's Call* and Maritain's Preface. I am convinced that, (as the history of the Catholic Worker itself shows), the emphasis upon the lay apostolate is in no way opposed to religious vocations, but would result in more vocations to the religious life.

² Cf. Robert Kothén, *La révolution verte*, Thuillies, Belgique: Ramgal, 1939, p. 135. He quotes Dorothy Day, "Je n'ai jamais adhéré au parti communiste comme tel."

the house of hospitality which they opened up in the slums of New York City, they became poor among the poor.

1935. As social unrest spread, discussion groups, known as Campion Propaganda Committees, were formed in most of the large urban centers under the inspiration of the Catholic Worker. These groups were composed, for the most part, of graduates of Catholic schools, who found in the Catholic Worker Movement positive opportunities in the field of social action to devote their talents to the service of the Church. But these centers attracted people from other walks of life as well. All worked together with the bond of Christian charity.

1936. The first farming commune was established at Easton, Pa., to dramatize the need for a back-to-the-land movement. Later rural life ventures, even when they have used quite different methods, have found inspiration in the farming commune movement of the Catholic Worker.

1937-1940. During these depression years, Houses of Hospitality continued to spring up all over the country. Young men and women, with confidence in the Providence of God and in Saint Joseph, patron of the Catholic Worker, conducted breadlines, feeding hundreds of hungry people daily, never knowing from day to day where the food was coming from. Saint Joseph did not fail them. In St. Louis, the Campion Book Shop and Propaganda Center, the outgrowth of meetings at St. Louis University in 1935, developed into the St. Louis Hospice in November, 1937.⁴ Groups were beginning to spring up in other countries—notably Canada, England, and Australia—which established their Houses and published each its own *Catholic Worker*. By this time, the Catholic Worker groups in this country were conducting some thirty houses of hospitality, where thousands of the hungry and homeless "ambassadors of Christ" were fed and given shelter. *The Catholic Worker* attained its highest circulation, 150,000.

During the war years, a number of the houses of hospitality were forced to close down, as the young men entered the armed forces or went to Civilian Public Service units or Conscientious Objector camps. However, the Catholic Worker continued to publish the paper, proclaiming its stand of "Christian pacifism," and making its appeals as always for the needy.⁵

⁴ Dorothy Day first spoke in St. Louis in the spring of 1935: on May Day, 1935, several students of St. Louis University distributed papers among spectators of the local May Day parade. Organized in the Fall of 1935, the St. Louis Campion Committee met for about a year at Saint Anthony's Parish Third Order Headquarters. In the fall of 1936, the Campion Propaganda Book Shop was opened on back Franklin Avenue, near the Communist Book Shop. The breadline was opened Thanksgiving Day, 1937; in the spring of 1938 the group moved to its headquarters in an abandoned building on Pine Street near St. Louis University. The first two leaders of the group were graduates of St. Louis University, Cyril Echele, now affiliated with the Central Verein of St. Louis, and the author of the present article. The third leader, Herbert Welsh, will long be remembered in St. Louis as an outstanding example of the Catholic Worker spirit. During the war years, the St. Louis Hospice was closed. Its former members are active in many other Catholic endeavors.

⁵ The Catholic Worker stand on peace and war calls for fuller treatment than I can give it here. As a result of its uncompromising condemnation not only of modern wars in general, but of the actual war just concluded, the movement lost many friends and gained others. I do not agree with its particular interpretation of the Church's teachings upon peace and war, but I feel that

At the end of the war, in 1945, the Catholic Worker entered a new phase of its history. Was the Catholic Worker, as some critics allege, primarily a depression-born movement? In time of boom, what need exists for houses of hospitality and breadlines? (In time of boom, o hollow word!) Dorothy Day might well reply: can we say that social justice is satisfied as long as numbers of workingmen are denied a salary that will enable them to secure a decent livelihood? When we see, on the one hand, thousands of the needy suffering real misery, and on the other, those who spend huge sums on frivolous amusement, can we fail to realize that not only is justice poorly observed, but charity is no longer a vital thing in our daily life?⁶ These words simply echo those of Pope Pius XI. Who can read the messages of our present Holy Father without detecting in them an even more urgent note and a more insistent call to social action?

There is work, then, for the Catholic Worker in the future as in the past. It is true, however, that the movement has entered a new phase of its existence. Even in the event of another depression, I do not think that the enthusiastic house of hospitality movement of the thirties is likely to be repeated in the same way. In the first place, thanks in large measure to the inspiration of the Catholic Worker, many Catholic social action movements have sprung up which are specializing in or concentrating upon one or other of the many social works in which the Catholic Worker was a pioneer. If you will investigate the new Catholic groups in this country, such as Friendship House, The Grail Workers, Catholic Action Cells, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Cana Conference Movement, and the Bishop Sheil School of Social Studies in Chicago, as well as many others, you will find among their leaders a large number who were either active members of the Catholic Worker center or were greatly influenced by the Catholic Worker movement.⁷ In the second place, many of the young people who were active in the 1930's are now married and have family responsibilities. In the endeavors of these men and women is one of the greatest contributions of the Catholic Worker to a more dynamic and integrated American Catholicism. Some of them are editing Catholic publications, such as the new organ of Chicago's CISCA, *Today*; some are engaged in older social movements such as the Central Verein; some are active in the rural life

(Please turn to page eighty-four)

⁶ Vid. Pope Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*, in *Five Great Encyclicals*, edited by Rev. Gerald Treacy, S. J., Paulist Press, p. 194, no. 47, and p. 196, no. 52.

⁷ These movements, of course, have their own distinct characteristics and often follow very different techniques from those of the Catholic Worker. But, in varying degrees, they have been influenced by it. The Grail Workers, (formerly the Ladies of the Grail), originated in Europe before the Catholic Worker came into existence; it is, in my opinion, the most excellent way yet developed for utilizing the gifts that women can bring to the lay apostolate. One of its leaders told me that without the preparatory work of the Catholic Worker, its own activity would not have been possible in this country.

its critics, often animated by an ill-concealed militarism, have failed to see the profound insights into the concrete tragedy of war expressed by Dorothy Day. In my opinion, Don Luigi Sturzo's study, "Modern Wars and Catholic Thought," *Review of Politics*, April, 1941, strikes a happy medium between the pacifism of some Catholics and the militarism of others.

Novels of the Middle Border: A Critical Bibliography for Historians

Charles T. Dougherty

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THE frontier is a vague demarcation at best, but since 1790 it has been the custom of the United States Census Bureau to describe it as a line beyond which there are not two people per square mile. In 1850 this line marked roughly the western borders of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. By 1890 it was impossible to draw such a line with any accuracy, but a line drawn down the middle of the Dakotas and over to the western borders of Nebraska and Kansas would not have been far wrong. Between these two lines lies the middle border; it includes the eastern half of the Dakotas, all of Nebraska, and the corners of Iowa and Minnesota that meet at South Dakota.¹

This land is different from the older land to the east and from the cattle land to the west, and its history is a distinct phase of the general westward movement. The two factors that intervened and set it off were the Civil War and the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862. This act was amended after the war in favor of the veterans,² and these privileges plus the general unrest that followed the war and the panic of 1873 led hundreds of the soldiers to try their luck in the free land of the West. They were joined by a host of men fleeing from the horrors of the reconstruction government in the South, and by a flood of immigrants from northern Europe, who had been deterred by the war. The war also resulted in a growing sense of nationality which contributed to the migration, in that, before this time the people of the United States had been extremely state-conscious. They felt that when they left their native states they were leaving home and going to foreign parts. After the war the states of the North were welded into a unit and the traveler who left Pennsylvania for Nebraska no longer felt that he had left his native land behind him. So the end of the war loosed a land rush that resulted in one of the great boom periods of American history. Between 1880 and 1890 the population of Nebraska increased more than 600,000, and in the same decade the almost uninhabited territory of Dakota became so populous as to be admitted to the Union as two states.³

Characteristics of Middle Border

Whoever would understand the history of the middle border must come to appreciate three characteristics

¹ I exclude Kansas because its settlement took place in the heat of such a violent political battle that its history is unique.

² The original act provided that any citizen of the United States, or person who had declared his intention to become such, could claim a quarter section of unappropriated public lands on the condition that it was for his own actual settlement and cultivation, and that he actually reside upon or cultivate the land for a term of five years. The amendments permitted soldiers to apply their service time toward the required residence time, and offered special concessions within a railroad grant.

³ See Everett Dick, *The Sod House Frontier 1864-1890*, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937, for the best account of this migration.

which distinguish this movement from other American migrations. First, it was accompanied by terrific ballyhoo; it was promoted by a lavish campaign of advertising and high pressure selling. Second, it resulted in an ethnic complexity peculiar to the region. Third, it was motivated and sustained by a kind of belligerent optimism, by an attitude, in itself essentially unrealistic, which was, nevertheless, one of the fundamental realities on the prairie. We may call this roseate attitude "the dream."

The railroads were the principle sponsors of the advertising campaign that sold the middle border. A government anxious to promote their building had endowed them liberally with land. Sometimes a company was given as much as every odd section along the right of way. The railroads in turn gave out much of this land in wages to the men who built the roads, and these men settled on their grants. The companies were eager to sell the rest of their vast holdings to settlers and to bring families West at any cost, for the sooner this prairie began to thrive the sooner the railroads would begin to make money. The result was that the Santa Fe, Union Pacific, Burlington, and Great Northern companies spent huge sums to advertise the territories they served. Posters, maps, pictures, and lavish descriptions of the country were distributed.⁴ Public exhibitions were staged in the large eastern cities, in which monstrous vegetables were exhibited as examples of the fertility of the soil. The companies gave reduced rates to emigrants and their baggage; they gave them free seed, temporary housing, and free lunches en route. Men were stationed on the docks to encourage immigrants arriving from Europe to settle in their territories, and representatives of the railroads were sent to Europe to continue the sales job. They were especially eager to obtain the religious communal colonists from Eastern Europe because a single transaction could involve thousands of new colonists. Thus the Santa Fe sent Mr. C. B. Schmidt to agitate among the German Mennonites in Russia. Most of them settled in Kansas, but in 1873 the Dakota commissioner of immigration intercepted a party and directed them to the Jim River valley of South Dakota, where they still flourish. A Seventh-day Baptist colony settled in Nebraska; and the Great Northern Railway in 1894 moved an entire colony of Dunkers from Walkertown, Indiana, to Cando, North Dakota, on a train bearing the banner slogan: "From Indiana to the Rich Free Government Lands in North Dakota, via the famous Red River Valley, the Bread Basket of America."

But the railroads were not alone in the ballyhoo. Just as soon as a settler settled on a claim it became essential to him that other settlers follow him. So as soon as

⁴ Remnants of this tradition may still be observed in many railroad stations which display tired posters urging emigration to Alaska or to western Canada.

they were able, the states and territories joined the railroads in sending agents to the East and to Europe. Mr. C. B. Neilson represented Nebraska in the Scandinavian countries, for example, in vigorous competition with a Col. Mathison from Minnesota. As soon as a townsite was laid out the speculators, the town builders, the boomers arrived;⁵ and the first move was ordinarily to publish a newspaper. These journals were not newspapers at all, but catalogues published entirely for eastern readers. Their very names, *Herald*, *Advertiser*, suggest this purpose, and the Oakdale, Nebraska, *Pen and Plow* stated its aim as follows: "The leading object of the *Pen and Plow* is to call the attention of the emigrant East to the upper Elkhorn Valley as a desirable field of settlement and investment." This tradition may be observed today on the mastheads of many newspapers of the middle border. For example, "*The Sheldon Sun—Shines on the Garden Spot of the World*" is a weekly published in Sheldon, Iowa.

The newspapers in the East also encouraged emigration as a patriotic policy and in cooperation with the railroads' advertising programs. Probably their contribution can be summarized in Horace Greeley's alleged advice in the *New York Tribune*, "Go West, young man, go West." Even the European newspapers furthered the cause. The Norwegian papers were especially zealous to print the "America Letters," letters from Norwegian emigrants in America which described the happy outcome of their ventures.⁶ It would have been too much, of course, to expect these readers to note that Anderson's success in New York or Illinois did not necessarily guarantee Olson's success in North Dakota.

This direct communication between the middle border and the national groups of northern and eastern Europe has resulted in a peculiar ethnic picture. Not only did the large communal groups come over *en masse*, but the members of each nationality tended to settle in groups, preserving their own languages and customs. And these were not numerically minority groups. In the Dakotas the Scandinavians easily dominated the population as they do today. In 1890, it is safe to say, fully thirty per cent of the population of North Dakota was from Norway. The counties in northwest Iowa were settled by the Irish, German, and Holland immigrants who are still cut one way by nationality and another by religion. The Hollanders cling to their stern religious observances, speak their native language, and wear wooden shoes about the farm yard. The Catholic Hollanders are clustered around Larchwood, while the Reformed Churchmen dominate Sioux, and much of Lyon and O'Brien Counties. But the important point to observe is that this migration was not the end product of a gradual working westward. These people, mostly European peasants, were lifted bodily from Europe and dropped right in the middle of the United States where they immediately became independent land owners. In a very few years the areas these people dominated were

admitted to statehood. And these people had never lived in the United States; they were unfamiliar with her political and financial traditions; and they had no understanding of the other parts of the nation. They came to know only that somewhere to the East in an area vaguely identified as Congress and/or Wall Street lay the source of the political and financial power that both sustained and shackled them.

The Pioneer's Dream

The middle border could not have been settled if enough men had not had "the dream." The pioneer is necessarily an optimist and a dreamer. He becomes fanatically loyal to the spot in which he settles, and remains that way until it becomes a secure and comfortable community. Although it looks the same on the outside, we must distinguish this sincere faith in the future of the prairie from the ballyhoo of the railroads and townsite promoters. There is considerable self interest, of course, in this optimism of the individual homesteader. At first he must keep up his own faith against hard odds. Then he must induce other settlers to live in his neighborhood in order to increase the value of his lands. If a small town springs up in his territory he sings its praises in order that it may become a county seat. Thus it will become a larger town; he will have a more convenient market, and his land will rise in value. This self interest still accounts for much of the phenomenal loyalty a small midwestern town demands from its inhabitants. One of these towns is a collection of retail stores, a depot, and a grain elevator. Its function is to supply the surrounding farmers, and the towns bid against each other for the farmers' business. There is no place in these communities for a "knocker." Each town's municipal band, baseball team, high school debating team, and water supply join forces to make it "the biggest little city in the West." But there is more to it than simple self-interest.

There was in these pioneers a love of the land, a love of growing things, a desire to own land, a desire to escape from a rampant industrialism that was devouring them, a hundred year old conviction that if you could just go far enough west you could find the promised land "that needed only to be tickled with a hoe to laugh into harvest," and a feeling that they were in the vanguard of history. It made them believe firmly that next year there would be a crop, that in two years there would be a thriving city at the river bend, and that being on their own land was worth any sacrifice. This was "the dream." It was not shared by every pioneer, not even by each member of a family, but it was there in those who succeeded, and it must be appreciated by any student of the middle border.

This dream is not, of course, the peculiar property of the middle border, but there it ground against a series of realities that set it apart. The first of these was a series of natural catastrophes. The prairie land was rich and not hard to break with good equipment, but there were the terrible blizzards of 1873, 1881, and 1888. Then in 1889 there were the dust storms. From June, 1859, until November, 1860, not one decent rain fell in Nebraska, and in 1881 the Missouri River flooded from Pierre to Sioux City. In 1873 prairie fires wiped out

(Please turn to page eighty-five)

⁵ See Dick, *op. cit.*, Emerson Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918.), and Robert F. Kerr, *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. V, Pierre: State Publishing Company, 1910, for accounts of the activities of the land-boomers.

⁶ See I. F. Woestemeyer, *The Westward Movement*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939, for accounts of these letters.

Initial Difficulties of a Century in the Schools

Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap.

St. Lawrence College

ONE hundred years ago a few School Sisters of Notre Dame¹ first set foot on the soil of the United States. Today they have become one of the largest sisterhoods in our country, devoted exclusively to teaching; they number approximately six thousand sisters who work in nearly half a hundred archdioceses and dioceses in this country and in Canada. Their Mother Commissary in Milwaukee is the direct superioress of five Mothers Provincial in the motherhouses of Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Baltimore, Maryland; St. Louis, Missouri; Mankato, Minnesota; and Waterdown, Canada. They have remained subject to the Mother General in Munich, Bavaria, even though the sisters in America outnumber those in Europe.² The mist of sorrow dampens the present centenary jubilation on account of the devastation that was wrought upon the community by the Nazi persecution and the Allied bombings, together with the almost complete destruction of the *Angerkloster*, the general motherhouse in Munich. Yet the dark clouds are somewhat pierced by the light of the happy knowledge that the American commissariat is prospering and that it has preserved the traditions of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Since the labors and experiences of the pioneers did not presage such success, it may be interesting to inquire about the difficulties that encompassed them. The very obstacles which were overcome on the way to success brought the untold blessings which enabled the sisters to make their valuable contribution to the Catholic school system in the United States.

Looking back over the early years and viewing them from a purely natural standpoint, we would be compelled to consider it extremely rash on the part of the sisters even to have conceived the idea of founding a mission in the United States as early as 1847.³ The community had been in existence only about a dozen years and had had a permanent motherhouse in Munich only half that time. The sisters could not by any means satisfy the demand for schools made upon them in Europe. Their Constitution had not yet been approved by the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome. Everything

seemed to cry out against an extension of activities to a foreign country. And yet they did not hesitate to undertake the seemingly impossible.

This Congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame was founded through the foresight of Bishop George Michael Wittmann and Father Sebastian Job, for the education of girls on account of the pressing demand of the times. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the so-called Enlightenment had driven the religious communities out of Bavaria. Among these religious exiles were St. Peter Fourier's Sisters of Notre Dame. At Regensburg one of their schools was saved from ruin by the efforts of Bishop Wittmann, who had three of the sisters' former pupils continue the classes under the direct supervision of an assistant pastor. At the same time these young ladies were tutored in the ways of religious life so that they might eventually revive the former religious community. This was accomplished only in 1834, when one of the young ladies, Caroline Gerhardinger, pronounced the religious vows and established the new community at Neunburg in Bavaria. As Mother Teresa, she based her mode of life on the Constitution of her former teachers, "but with such modifications as to allow the sisters to teach in the schools of smaller towns and rural parishes, in school-houses belonging to the parishes and not to their convents."⁴ Although she had to surmount many obstacles, particularly such as were caused by government interference, she at length had the happiness of gaining the confidence of King Louis I of Bavaria, who took such interest in the work that he stopped most of the interference and became a true friend of the sisters.

Through his intervention and help, Mother Teresa was finally enabled to establish the general motherhouse in Munich, the capital of the kingdom, as the location best suited for the purposes of the congregation. There American missionaries easily found the sisters when they visited the officers of the Ludwig-Missionsverein to beg alms for their missions. They also pleaded most earnestly with the sisters that they establish themselves in the United States. Even though the sisters were deeply imbued with the mission spirit that was then setting strong roots in Bavaria, they were not rash enough to accept invitations that could not even promise a shelter. It is true that the Ludwig-Missionsverein, at the command of the king, had been giving special attention to the German missions in the United States since 1844, but the society, on account of the many other demands made upon it, had not yet been able to formulate a policy regarding the help of sisterhoods.

Aid from Louis of Bavaria

It happened, however, that at this time King Louis, who was intensely interested in the activities of his mission society, faced a new situation that immediately

¹ In Germany these sisters are known as *Die Armen Schulschwestern unserer Lieben Frau*, or simply as *Die Armen Schulschwestern*, which would be translated as *The Poor School Sisters*. In order to avoid confusion in this country, the title of *School Sisters of Notre Dame* was adopted. In Bavaria the old title still holds.

² Cf. *The Official Catholic Directory* 1946, p. 933.

³ The running story of these sisters may be found in *Mother Caroline and the School Sisters of Notre Dame in North America* (St. Louis, 1928); P. M. Abbelen, *Die Ehrwürdige Mutter Maria Carolina Friess* (St. Louis, 1892); Frederick Friess, *Life of Reverend Mother Mary Teresa of Jesus Gerhardinger*, translated from the German (Baltimore, 1924). The present writer also had access to the archives of the Ludwig-Missionsverein in Munich, the archives of the archdiocese of Milwaukee as pertaining to the history of the sisters, and the *Annalen der Glaubensverbreitung des Ludwig-Missionsvereins* as well as their continuation *Die Weltmission der Katholischen Kirche*. These sources of information will not be cited in this article, unless specifically necessary. The same pertains to the various publications in these matters by the Rev. Willibald Mathaesser, O.S.B.

⁴ Elinor Tong Dehey, *Religious Orders of Women in the United States* (Hammond, 1930), p. 400.

fired his imagination. In the wilds of western Pennsylvania a certain company of Catholic gentlemen had bought a large tract of land to be settled solely by German Catholics. The members of the company were rather impractical idealists, who imagined that they needed only some high-pressure salesmanship to attract settlers in great numbers and thus assure the success of their project. But their intentions were good concerning the benefits that would be derived from a closely knit companionship of German Catholics. The earlier complaint that emigrants from Europe were losing the faith through a want of religious assistance would be nullified in this instance by the presence of the Redemptorists in the colony. And so King Louis, who was generally opposed to the emigration of his subjects, conceived such an interest in the colony that he had his own architect prepare the plans for a city in that wilderness. Unfortunately the architect had no conception of the needs of a pioneer town. He made the plans for a great city like Munich. They proved most impractical. And the soil itself was discovered not to be the fertile foundation of the paradise as had been envisaged. St. Mary's, as the colony was called, became just another settlement, and its Catholic character was eventually saved only by the arrival of the Benedictines.⁵

But the future failure was not foreseen when the fires of enthusiasm were at their height in 1847. King Louis himself prevailed upon the sisters to follow the call to this new settlement. He promised them financial assistance from his personal funds and instructed the officials of the Ludwig-Missionsverein to lend a liberal hand. Other friends also urged the sisters to heed the invitation. The ecclesiastical authorities acquiesced. When volunteers were easily found among the sisters, the congregation was ready to embark upon this chimerical expedition. Had the sisters foreseen all the implications of the venture, they would quite certainly not have followed that trail into the uncertain future. It is fortunate for our country that they did not see.

As in all previous foundations, Mother Teresa decided to open this new mission in person. She chose the novice Emmanuel as her traveling companion, and as the pioneers of the mission—all volunteers, as demanded by the king—she designated Sisters Barbara, Magdalen, Seraphine and Caroline. On Trinity Sunday, 1847, she announced the departure to all the sisters as follows:

For several years American missionaries have implored me to send out School Sisters for the training of female youth so that Catholicity might be sheltered and strengthened. King Louis, the father of our country, joyfully approves of our accepting this mission, and our prelate has sanctioned it. If it please God, the Sisters, by the middle of next month, will set out for St. Mary, a city in Pennsylvania. Your poor Mother Teresa of Jesus will accompany them.⁶

Sensing the highly adventurous and dangerous character of the undertaking, from which she might not return, Mother Teresa then wrote words that seemed like a last will and testament. And they almost became prophetic. When she had completed the final arrangements with the help of friends, particularly the king, she led

her little band of pioneers to Bremen. On June 25 they boarded the steamship *Washington*, which was ready to make the return trip of its maiden voyage between the United States and Germany. At Southampton the ship ran into difficulties that caused a lengthy delay, and on the Atlantic it encountered heavy storms that brought many days of misery to the passengers. Mother Teresa herself almost succumbed to the troubles; she wrote: "I suffered from seasickness; not even a drop of water would remain with me, and the nausea continued until the last morning when I left the ship."⁷ But another life, not hers, was required shortly afterwards as a sacrifice for the undertaking.

The Sisters finally landed in New York on July 31, 1847, the actual beginning of the great adventure. They were eager to meet the Redemptorists in the city, for members of that congregation would be their spiritual guides in the new mission. They were stunned by the greetings extended by one of the aged fathers to Sister Caroline, the youngest sister: "Young Sister, hold fast to the most holy and just God. Here you are in Sodom and Gomorrha."⁸ They were still more astonished when they were told forthrightly that St. Mary's was not the paradise that had been promised to them, that it was sunk in poverty, that it was hardly self-sustaining, and that the prospects for the future were unquestionably gloomy. They were then advised to take the next boat back to Germany in order to save themselves from complete failure.

A less courageous woman might have followed this advice without hesitation. But Mother Teresa would not let herself become discouraged so easily. She was determined at least to inspect the place. Therefore, as soon as possible, she and the sisters were on their way to St. Mary's. At the same time she desired more authentic information, and so she made a detour to Baltimore in order that she might consult with Father John Nepomuk Neumann,⁹ the provincial of the Redemptorists.

The consultation brought no more consolation than the earlier reports. In fact, the provincial indicated that the Redemptorists themselves were sorry that they had been implicated in the meshes of the colony. He told her quite bluntly that St. Mary's was in no wise a suitable location for the motherhouse of the sisters. Yet Mother Teresa came to the conclusion that she would at least have to open a convent, as she had promised, even if the location for a motherhouse would have to be sought elsewhere. She had contracted to go to St. Mary's; she would go to St. Mary's.

Inland Journey

When the preparations for the long trek to western Pennsylvania had been completed, the condition of Sister Emmanuel, the novice, began to cause alarm. Although she had suffered much during the ocean voyage, she seemed improved after landing. On account of the relapse, it was decided that she should be kept in Balti-

(Please turn to page eighty-eight)

⁵ Cf. *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich XXIII* (1851), 39-48; Sister Mary Regina Baska, O. S. B., *The Benedictine Congregation of Saint Scholastica* (Washington, 1935), pp. 13-27.

⁶ Friess, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁸ Abbelen, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁹ Bishop of Philadelphia 1852-1860. The process for his beatification was begun in Rome on December 15, 1896. He therefore has the official title of "venerable."

Diplomacy Behind the Louisiana Purchase

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THE diplomatic history of the Louisiana Purchase is interesting, tantalizing, and unsatisfying. Most diplomatic history probes at secrets which can only be answered partially by even the most worrisome moles of research scholarship. For diplomatic history is not really concerned with statutes or speeches readable in the clear light of day. It labors to discover why rival disciples of Machiavelli played their cards as they did. Sometimes patient research in archives and private correspondence, finally opened or suddenly discovered, gives a clear answer to the scholar's problem. But too often the real motives are not held on parchment.

Napoleon did not trust parchment. He acted without explanations and was willing to let the world guess why he had acted. And for the world this was the more merciful course. For sometimes he gave reasons, sounds that meant nothing, mere epigrams designed to exalt the speaker and to confuse the listener. And in discussing the diplomatic history of the Purchase one does not only deal with Napoleon but also with his brilliant rival in prevarication—the elusive Talleyrand.

Two of the problems which present themselves in the diplomatic background of the Purchase are: 1) Did the First Consul own Louisiana when he sold it to the United States?; 2) Why did Napoleon sell Louisiana?

The King of France deeded Louisiana over to his ally the King of Spain at the conclusion of the French and Indian War (The Seven Years' War) in order to compensate him for the loss of Florida to the English and to prevent the English from claiming the territory. France's title had been valid, generally recognized because of the repeated voyages and claims made by explorers of the seventeenth century. Therefore Spain's claim was also valid after the transfer.

She maintained her hold of the vast territory for thirty-seven years, though she did little about it. There were about 50,000 white men in Louisiana in 1800 and most of these were of French origin. Yet they were content under the passive rule of the foreigner who had sent token forces of soldiers to forts in New Orleans, New Madrid, and St. Louis.¹

Spanish Cession to France

The United States was happy to know that the land across the Mississippi was being held in trust for it until it should be ready to claim its property.² But when rumor began to insinuate that the somnolent Spanish were to be replaced by the dynamic French, uneasiness spread from Washington to Kentucky. Though the bland Talleyrand did not hesitate to deny the rumor there was solid fact to prove him false even as he spoke.³

Spain was not too much concerned about transferring Louisiana to France. True, she did look upon the land

as a barrier to the future encroachments of the vigorous Americans upon her prized southern possessions but the European lure of Tuscany and of immediate profit and glory made her willing to take a chance on the more remote future. At any rate Louisiana would still remain a barrier, even though not a Spanish barrier.

Whitaker tries to show that the work of Henry Adams is incorrect on this point.⁴ Whitaker asserts that Adams held that Spain was forced to make the cession of Louisiana, but Adams himself says:

... both King and Queen were anxious to part with Louisiana for their daughter's sake. They received the offer with enthusiasm, and lavished praises upon Bonaparte."⁵

One reason why Spain parted easily with Louisiana was that the colony was a losing proposition. The report to the treasury department from the department of Louisiana for the year 1797 represented the normal, irreducible expenses of the colonial government, and yet they were fifty per cent in excess of its revenues. Whitaker suggests other reasons:

... the exceptions to its colonial system which Spain was forced to make in favor of the creoles, the smuggling trade which Britons and Americans were carrying on with the neighboring Spanish colonies through New Orleans, and the international rivalries in which Spain was involved by reason of its possession of Louisiana.⁶

In all of the steps by which the United States gradually came to possess Louisiana there was a veil of secrecy. The treaty of retrocession to France, that of San Ildefonso, was signed in secret the very day after France had concluded her treaty of Morfontaine with the United States. This latter was intended to settle the long troubles that the United States had been having with France and which had almost brought about a state of war. But if the mind of Napoleon had been revealed to the jubilant Americans as they signed their treaty of Morfontaine they would have been immediately seized with new worries.

For he and his minister of foreign affairs, Talleyrand, had in mind the revival of the old glories of France as a colonial power.⁷ They also had in mind that the possessing of Louisiana would give them an opening on the flank of the United States which could be used as a threat in future diplomacy. The men of the western waters were an unruly lot who were not irrevocably tied up with the sea-bordering states to the east of the Alleghanies. Whoever controlled their passage to the sea, the Mississippi, might have a great deal to say about their loyalty.

But Napoleon's business with Spain was not concluded with the affair at San Ildefonso,⁸ for that treaty was

³ *History of the United States of America During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, Henry Adams, I, p. 409, Albert & Charles Boni, N. Y., 1930, (1st ed., 1889).

⁴ Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

⁵ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

⁶ Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁷ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

⁸ *The Relations of the United States and Spain, (Diplomacy)*, French Ensor Chadwick, p. 42, Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1909.

¹ *History of St. Louis City and County*, J. Thomas Scharf, I, p. 259, Louis H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, 1883.

² *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803*, Arthur Preston Whitaker, p. 202, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1934.

only provisional. The important provision was that Spain would finally hand over the colony six months after France had established the heir presumptive of Parma, son-in-law of the Spanish monarch, on the newly created throne of Etruria. Napoleon already had won the Italian land, but it was incumbent upon him to obtain the recognition of the new king from other European powers.

In order to hasten the final treaty concerning the retrocession the French ambassador to Madrid made a promise which Napoleon was to ignore within a few months:

"His Catholic Majesty has appeared to wish that France should engage not to sell or alienate, in any manner, the property and the enjoyment of Louisiana. Its wish in this respect is perfectly conformable with the intentions of the Spanish government; and its sole motive for entering therein was because it respected a possession which has constituted a part of the French territory. I am authorized to declare to you, in the name of the First Consul, that France will never alienate it."⁹

This embarrassing promise was made in July and so in October of the same year, 1802, the definitive treaty for retrocession was signed.

The delay which Spain had managed was executed by the minister Godoy. This adroit diplomat was delaying in order to secure the firm establishment of the Kingdom of Etruria—a consummation which was never really achieved in spite of all the Spanish fencing. Yet if France had had to deal only with King Carlos IV or his Queen Louisa the deal might have been terminated even more disadvantageously for Etruria—and if the deal had been so terminated Napoleon could have moved into Louisiana much earlier and, by establishing his power on the Mississippi, he might have changed the course of the history of the United States. But there was the elusive Godoy.

Yet there were two other reasons why Napoleon was slow to occupy his new acquisition. One of them was the weather and the other was Toussaint L'Ouverture. The French had assembled a force for Louisiana in 1802, but the excessive winter froze over the harbor to imprison the fleet. L'Ouverture was a more positive hindrance.

This legendary negro, son of an African chief who had been enslaved for the island of Santo Domingo, led the blacks in their fight against the French general, Leclerc. He was finally captured and imprisoned until death in a fortress in the Alps—hardly an apt spot for the hibernation of a son of the tropics. But when the French tried to reduce the negroes to their former condition of slavery, there ensued a costly struggle characterized by guerilla warfare that amazed the regular French army. Then they met a new and truly unconquerable force, the yellow fever. The only result of this long, futile effort to reestablish the old French colonial system was the death of 50,000 French soldiers, including that of the leader, Leclerc.

The French had decided on the subjugation of Santo Domingo before the occupation of Louisiana because they looked upon the island as the corner stone of their new policy. The fisheries of Newfoundland also entered into the plan, and so did Louisiana. But Santo Domingo was the most important factor because of its rich

plantations. The larger territory on the North American continent was regarded primarily as a source of supply for the island.

Purchase by U. S.

Thomas Jefferson, then president, was greatly perturbed by the French possession of Louisiana and of New Orleans. He also suspected that France might have the Floridas, though in this suspicion he was wrong.¹⁰ Yet, though he didn't like the idea of Louisiana being in French hands, he was prepared, if he had to make the concession, to make no further effort at changing Napoleon's ideas for colonial empire on the west bank of the river. He was mainly interested in getting New Orleans and West Florida in order to get a place of deposit for the Kentuckians, an entrepot which could not be closed at the discretion of any foreign powers.

Spain had caused a surge of anger to rush up the valley in 1802 when the intendant, acting on secret advice from the Court, had withdrawn the right of deposit guaranteed by the Pinckney Treaty of 1795.

Napoleon amazed the American commissioners, Livingston and Monroe, by offering to sell all of Louisiana. In discussing this offer Henry Adams presents a number of reasons to show that Napoleon had no right to make the offer:

Louisiana did not belong to France but to Spain. The retrocession had never been completed; the territory was still possessed, garrisoned, and administered by Don Carlos IV; until actual delivery was made, Spain might yet require that the conditions of retrocession should be rigorously performed. Her right in the present instance was complete, because she held as one of the conditions precedent to the retrocession a solemn pledge from the First Consul never to alienate Louisiana. *The sale of Louisiana to the United States was trebly invalid:* if it were French property, Bonaparte could not constitutionally alienate it without the consent of the Chambers; if it were Spanish property, he could not alienate it at all; if Spain had a right of reclamation, his sale was worthless.¹¹

It might seem temerarious to disagree with such a scholar as Henry Adams, but it does not appear that he has substantiated all of his arguments. In the first place, neither he nor any of the other authors consulted for this paper show that the replacing of Spanish garrisons by French was a condition of retrocession.

In the second place, his statement of the effects of the pledge not to alienate is inaccurate. Once the pledge was given and the definitive treaty signed in 1802 Louisiana *did* belong to France. France possessed the territory—not Spain—but what France did not possess was *the right to alienate*.

In the third place, there appears no proof that Spain had a right of reclamation. She had no option on buying back the territory. If France violated her pledge, then the territory might revert back to Spain—though this is not stated in any document; but a mere reversion would be a passive, *ipso facto*, result, while a reclamation is an active, new, manifestation of will.

Adams' other arguments are good. Napoleon had promised through St. Cyr that he would never alienate Louisiana to a third power. The internal constitutional argument seems good, too. For at the time of the Purchase Napoleon still pretended that he was ruling according to constitutional norms.

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⁹ *Idem.*, p. 49.

¹⁰ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

¹¹ *Idem.*, II, p. 56.

Our Anniversary Review

WITH this present number *The Historical Bulletin* rounds out a quarter-century of publication. It pauses to congratulate itself on twenty-five years of service (a fond hope!) to "teachers and students of history" and to take stock of the past, with an eye to render its future still more helpful to its readers.

The *Bulletin* made its appearance, in 1922, in what might be aptly styled "swaddling clothes." It was published through its first four volumes in mimeographed form. Even so, it was pretentious in those early days, appearing monthly during the academic year. The original sponsor was the Middle-West Division of the American Jesuit Historical Association. Its contributors and readers were, in the main, the members of the group, Jesuits young and old, teachers of history in the Society's midwest network of high schools, colleges, and universities. The *Bulletin* was a medium of exchange of information, teaching hints, and the like for the Black Robe group. Gradually, however, a copy here and there wandered beyond Jesuit precincts, and the interest of other teachers was aroused. In a few more years the *Bulletin* became generally available.

In 1926, with Volume V, the *Bulletin* had outgrown its "swaddling clothes" and made its first appearance in print. Two volumes were published in the format then adopted, somewhat smaller than the one familiar now to *Bulletin* readers, which came into use with Volume VII, in 1928. Before this date quarterly publication had become the practice—both printing costs and lack of editorial time had dictated this reduction of annual numbers. Then, as now, the "slave work" on the *Bulletin*—the exacting and time-consuming tasks of copy preparation, contacts with printer and publisher, proof-reading, dummy organization, circulation, and book-keeping—was done by busy Jesuit scholastics, to whom the *Bulletin* may have been a first love but for whom it always had to take second place to the more immediate demands of the long and intensive course of seminary studies. And editors, too, were busy men, with many another duty than that of readying each issue for the press.

Speaking of editors, the *Bulletin* has had its great names, and these deserve a word of recollection and of gratitude on this anniversary. First in line is beloved Father Francis S. Betten, of high-school history book fame. For two years, 1926-1928, Father Betten was the editor. But during the early years he was the real spark for the periodical, and down to the time of his death, in December, 1942, he continued to be one of its most interested supporters and regular contributors. Many of his historical "tid-bits" in the early volumes are gems of fascinating information, while others are splendid examples of historical synthesis, into which he packed long years of reading, scholarship, and classroom experience.

Next in line of "name" editors was the scholarly historian of the Middle United States, Father Gilbert J. Garra-

ghan. For years Father Garraghan's name stood high among the scholars of American history, especially the history of the West. His connection with the *Bulletin* and his frequent contributions to its pages did much to raise it in the esteem of the historical craft. With his editorship the publication headquarters returned to Saint Louis University, after the short sojourn at John Carroll University, Cleveland, during Father Betten's tenure. Here the *Bulletin* has remained to the present, close to the young Jesuits, graduate students in the social sciences, who, as has been said above, are its real producers.

In 1932 dynamic Father Raymond Corrigan came to head the Department of History at Saint Louis University. Hardly was he settled in new quarters, when the *Bulletin* was dropped at his doorstep. It was no foundling, however, but a healthy, promising youngster, with a name beginning to command respect and with a widening clientele of "teachers and students of history." For the next decade, until his untimely death in January, 1943, Father Corrigan helped the *Bulletin* to grow yet more vigorous and to win wider esteem. The editorial feature, which had been introduced a few years previously, became an unusually vibrant section, as he took advantage of its pages to direct attention to significant developments in the historical field, to important historiographical trends, outstanding personalities and events, or simply—and this found the editor in his most delightful capacity—to convey to the *Bulletin's* readers some of his own enthusiasm, his sense of historical scholarship, his penetrating insight into men and events, past and contemporary. Life was slowly ebbing from a pain-ridden body in the last weeks of December, 1942, but Father Corrigan found the strength of love to pen his last two editorials, for the January number. One was so characteristic of the spirit of its author, "We Shall Win the War," a timely analysis of the thought of the famous Alexis de Tocqueville on democracy in the face of conflict. The year 1942 had been unkind to the *Bulletin*, for it had taken the two old "pillars of strength," Garraghan in June and Betten in December; and it left Corrigan dying.

Another frequent and enthusiastic supporter of the *Bulletin* over long years was Father Francis X. Mannhardt, professor of history at Saint Louis University. His "Jottings" and other notes have helped many a young teacher and student. One sometimes wonders, in looking back over the file, if, perhaps, Father Mannhardt was not closest to the ideal of the service to which the *Bulletin* has dedicated itself. Nor should this note overlook another great friend of the *Bulletin*, Father Laurence J. Kenny, whose interest in and contributions to its pages span the whole quarter-century. There have been others, too, many others, Black Robes, Other Robes, and No Robes, whose scholarship and support have made the *Bulletin*.

In its small way the *Bulletin* feels that it has rendered its share of service. It has consistently laid emphasis on

things Catholic and the Catholic position, convinced that a frank expression of the views of Catholic scholars will be welcomed by the historical craft in general. Catholicism is so much a part of our Western Civilization that those who understood the faith and those things for which it stands, from the inside, are in a vantage point very frequently. The *Bulletin* has sought to avoid partisanship in all this, ever mindful of those words of Leo XIII: "It is the first law of History that it dare say nothing which is false, nor fear to write anything that is true, in order that there may be no suspicion either of partiality or of hostility in the writer." As it looks into the future, the *Bulletin* hopes that it may be able to continue the record of this first quarter century and become more truly with each issue "a review of service for teachers and students of history."

J.F.B.

Catholic Worker

(Continued from page seventy-six)

movement, and others are teaching in Catholic schools.

The vitality of the Catholic Worker as a social movement is by no means spent, for it continues to adapt itself to the needs of the moment. At present, besides maintaining its hospices, its farms, and its propaganda centers, it has established a retreat movement to fill the special spiritual needs of those who have dedicated their lives to work in the lay apostolate. It is also deeply interested in fostering a more integrated family life, directed wherever feasible towards the land; it continues to keep close contact with its own married members, encouraging them to be leaders in the family apostolate and in their respective lines of endeavor.

This cinematic history of the Catholic Worker movement has given us a picture of its program in action. Recently, when I was rereading a great document which inspired those of us who were engaged in the social apostolate some ten years ago, I reflected that its positive program for social action reminds one forcibly of the very things the Catholic Worker had been insisting upon ever since its inception. The main point of this program is *the renewal of Christian life, public and private*, especially by participation in the liturgical and sacramental life of the Church. Out of this basic and indispensable source flow:

- (1) The spirit of detachment from worldly goods.
- (2) The spirit of charity to all, as in the practice of the works of mercy.
- (3) The call for works of justice, especially social justice, all directed towards the reconstruction of the social order.
- (4) Social study and propaganda.

This is the program drawn up by Pius XI in *Divini Redemptoris*, ("On Atheistic Communism").⁸ Many Catholics, it seems to me, have still not gone beyond the first half of the Encyclical, (which exposes, very properly and necessarily, the errors of Communism); they devote their efforts largely to denunciations of the Red Menace, doing little or nothing to rectify the social conditions causing Communism. They have yet to read and assimilate the second half of the document, which proposes a

⁸ Vid. Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*, op. cit., pp. 192-198, nos. 41-56.

positive program and appeals for cooperation on the part of priests, laity and all men of good will. The distinction of the Catholic Worker rests in the fact that it has made its own the spirit of this program as have few other movements. In particular, it heeds the injunction of Pius XI, "Go to the workers, go to the poor."⁹ Truly, the words of *Divini Redemptoris* may well be taken as a charter for Catholic Worker personalism.

The Philosophy of the Catholic Worker Movement

Catholic Worker Personalism? This brings us to the philosophy of the Catholic Worker movement. Peter Maurin, "the philosopher of the Catholic Worker," who has been likened to Socrates the gadfly of Athens, and to the mediaeval Langland, was influenced deeply by the personalist philosophy stemming from the leaders of the French Catholic resurgence, in particular, by Charles Péguy, and by the Personalism of Emmanuel Mounier, editor of *Espirit*, and author of the *Manifeste au service du personnalisme*. More influential than Mounier upon many members of the movement were the writings of Jacques Maritain, particularly those in which he discusses the personalist and communitarian revolution, for example, *Freedom in the Modern World*.¹¹ Personalism as a philosophy means more than personal sanctification and a sense of personal responsibility, (for to these every Christian is called); its chief lesson for most of those engaged in the Catholic Worker Movement has been a realization of the need for personal dedication to the task of rebuilding a new Christendom; in the words of Peter Maurin, every man should find his mission and devote himself unstintingly to it.

Some day, I would like to write a study of this "philosophy" which would treat of its philosophy of work, its views upon voluntary poverty, the bond between scholars and workers, peace and war, authority and liberty, and preeminently, personalism and the sense of one's vocation and mission.¹² In this present article, I can do no more than point out what I think is a fundamental key to the understanding of the philosophy or theory of the Catholic Worker movement, and in general, of other movements absorbed primarily and immediately in tasks of the practical order. The point is quite simple, and yet, quite important: strictly speaking, there is no philosophy, no theory in the exact sense of speculative knowledge, in such an outlook. There is no *scientia causarum*, there is a *sapientia*, not the *sapientia* of metaphysics (or even of moral philosophy, *philosophia practica*, insofar as that is theoretical), but the *sapientia* of prudence, conjoined to the gift of the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 200, no. 61.

¹⁰ Mounier's book, (Paris: Aubier, 1936), was translated by the Monks of Saint John's Abbey, Collegeville, (New York: Longmans, 1938).

¹¹ Jacques Maritain has clearly indicated that he is not identified with any groups which have taken up the philosophy of personalism and applied it in the practical order; however, he is deeply interested in and sympathetic towards their activity.

¹² Besides the books I have referred to already on some of these topics, I would recommend the first chapter of Etienne Gilson's *Philosophy of Saint Bonaventure*, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1938). Its account of the development of the attitude of the first generations of Franciscans with regard to voluntary poverty and the evangelical life offers suggestive comparisons, *mutatis mutandis*, with the Catholic Worker history.

Holy Ghost. A winged heroic prudence, which often seems like imprudence to timid or over-cautious souls, this prudence at its noblest is a verification of Saint Augustine's definition of the virtue as "love choosing wisely between the things that count and those that hinder." It seems to me that confusions (on the part of both friends and critics of the Catholic Worker) between the order of speculative and that of practical knowledge have resulted in unfortunate misunderstandings. If one interprets certain doctrines from the standpoint of theoretical philosophy, they require serious qualifications and distinctions. If one takes these same doctrines from the practical standpoint, (which Jacques Maritain has called the area of practically practical knowledge, in his *Degrees of Knowledge*),¹³ they reveal profound insights into man's concrete condition, his grandeur and misery, his gleam of grandeur even in abject misery.

We must remember that, if the leaders of practically-orientated movements seem at times to deprecate the worth of speculative knowledge, (a procedure which, in itself, entails serious consequences for Catholic thought and its applications), this is doubtless in large measure because speculative philosophers often have been so remote from the anguish of our times. In that sense, they have even failed as philosophers.¹⁴

The Significance of the Catholic Worker

What does this rapid sketch of the history, program, and basic philosophy of the Catholic Worker movement tell us of its significance upon American Catholic life? The answer, I think, has already been suggested. In the words of Fr. H. A. Reinhold, "Even if the present Catholic Worker collapses or proves to be incapable of rebuilding American Catholicism, through some human shortcoming of its members, the spirit which animates it is the only one which can save the Church in America."¹⁵ I concur with this judgment because, as I stated at the outset, the Catholic Worker has made two outstanding contributions to the social apostolate in this country—(1) it has gone to the workers and to the poor and brought them the social message of the Gospels; (2) it has aroused in many hearts a sense of personal dedication to the service of Christ the King. Let us touch upon the latter point once more. Many of the leaders in Catholic social action today began their activities in the lay apostolate in the Catholic Worker and from it received lessons in sacrifice and responsibility that transformed their lives. All this was part of the vision of its leaders, particularly Peter Maurin; estimating the talents of every man he met, Peter would pick out some central post for him in the apostolic scheme and urge him to take up his station there.

Are we to conclude, then, that the significance of the Catholic Worker is that it has paved the way for other, and more enduring, movements? Is it mainly a precursor, *vox clamantis in deserto*? It has indeed paved the way, and title of precursor in such a task as the restoration of social order is no mean one. But it has another significance as well. It has given voice to an uncompromis-

ing vision of Christian charity and justice. Even when one does not agree with all its views, how refreshing its forthright stand by contrast with the platitudes too often found in many organs of the Catholic Press!¹⁶ Yes, the Catholic Worker, by preaching and by example, has taught us many things. Its teachings may be epitomized in the lessons taught by its truly heroic and unselfish leaders—Peter Maurin, with his uncompromising devotion to truth, his tireless zeal in preaching his message, and his insistence that every man find his own unique way to a life dedicated to the Truth; Dorothy Day, with her boundless thirst for justice and her deep solicitude for the least of Christ's little ones; the unshakeable trust of both in God's Providence and in the inherent dignity of each and every man. It is for these things that the Catholic Worker will merit a major chapter when the definitive history of American Catholicism in our era is written; and it is for these things that it merits, I believe, a page in the book of the history of the City of God not written by the hand of man.

¹⁶ Dorothy Day's recent articles on Work are a challenging case in point.

Middle Border

(Continued from page seventy-eight)

whole towns in South Dakota, and in 1874 the grasshoppers came for the first of three terrible years.

The accompanying crop failures pointed up the second harsh reality of the prairie. It was a debtor's community, and not only nature, but "big business" worked against them. Railroad rates and the middle men devoured them, and banking interest of two percent a month was not unheard of.

The third hard fact of life was that the middle border was the end of the line. In 1890 Oklahoma was opened and settled in a few days and the agricultural frontier was virtually gone. The Dakota farmer suddenly realized that he had no place else to go. He had to make a successful home or return to "his wife's folks." Always before he had been able to slip the leash and run, but now he had to stop and work out his salvation where he was within the American business and political framework. The farmers organized the Grange as an experiment in cooperative purchasing, and attempted a political solution under the banners of Populism. Neither venture succeeded, but all of these things formed and continue to color the political thinking of the middle border.

This region is a rich field for the historian, but it offers him unusual difficulties. The sources that he would ordinarily rely upon are contemporary newspapers, and the letters and papers of those men who lived long enough on the prairie to know something about it, and who had sufficient education and interest to write it down. But on the middle border both of these sources are notoriously unreliable. We have already seen that the journals of the time were completely lacking in objectivity, and the accounts left us by the pioneers are just as colored. For it is contrary to the nature of a pioneer to write history. The backtrailers, like Hamlin Garland, were

¹³ Cf. *Degrees of Knowledge*, (New York: Scribner's, 1938), chapter VII.

¹⁴ Cf. Plato's profound paradox, *Republic*, V, 473, and VI, 487-500.

¹⁵ *Art. cit.*, conclusion.

too embittered to do the job, because they failed completely to comprehend the fact of "the dream." Those who succeeded on the prairie were too imbued with "the dream" to prepare an objective account. Random selections from *South Dakota Historical Collections*⁷ will illustrate this problem. Hon. C. S. Amsden, then of Milbank, delivered an address before the fourth biennial meeting of the State Historical Society in 1909 on "The Big Winter, 1880." After carefully recounting the horrors of the blizzards he closed on this tone:

I am pleased to say that Grant county has outgrown these hard times and strenuous conditions and our people are prosperous and happy, but not so proud but the hand of charity is always extended to those less fortunate. We regard our home county second to none in the northwest and our people of sterling worth which characteristic is dominant in all of South Dakota. Although we suffered privations in our pioneer days, ought we not boost for South Dakota today and honor the state that, although young in years, ranks among the best?

Before the same group, Hon. Frank Trumbo, of Wagner, told the whole story of the drought and grasshopper plagues and closed on much the same note:

Where today, the evidence of the white man is to be seen on every hand in the form of cultivated fields of golden grain, beautiful groves, beautiful homes, and happiness, and contentment reigns supreme, the antelope, deer, elk and the buffalo are of the past and will soon be forgotten, but my! the multitudes that are being fed from the products taken from that very soil, where thirty years ago, game was the only inhabitants of that country which no one thought was good enough for anything but game. A great change, indeed, beyond the expectations or anticipations of anyone, and South Dakota is not yet half developed. She is going to keep right on, and I predict that she will be one of the greatest, if not the greatest state in the union in a few years. This attitude makes pioneers, but it does not make historians.

The Novels as History

There is, however, a source that the historian can profitably turn to, and that is the body of novels that have found their inspiration in the settlement of the middle border. It is a dangerous undertaking to attempt to learn history from a novelist, but the novels of the middle border are peculiarly useful for a number of reasons. First, we have said that two of the factors in the settlement of this region that must be understood are the ethnic complexity and "the dream." These are the kind of intangibles and conflicts that the novelist is best equipped to interpret—if he will.

And these novelists did set out to give us the true story of the middle border, for this pioneering movement coincided with a reaction from romanticism and the rise of a realistic school of American literature. This movement was sired and dominated by William Dean Howells, who in 1892 laid down the rules demanding truth of detail, truth of motives, truth of proportion, truth of reaction, and that the standard of truth is human experience. "Remember," he said, "that there is no greatness, no beauty, which does not come from truth to your own knowledge of things." And, "We must ask ourselves before we ask anything else, Is it true?—true to the motives, the impulses, the principles that shape the life of actual men and women?"⁸

Howells dominated the American letters of his generation, and his influence is not yet spent. One after another the novelists who wrote of the middle border

assured us that they were telling the *true* story. Willa Cather dedicated *O Pioneers*⁹ to Miss Jewett with the pledge to tell the story of the pioneers "truthfully and simply." Hamlin Garland, even though his objectivity is suspect, pauses every few pages in *A Son of the Middle Border*¹⁰ to reassure us that he is "faithful to fact." Parrington, in his introduction to *Giants in the Earth*,¹¹ places Rolvaag in the same tradition, obviously with the author's approval, and Johan Bojer, in a letter to Rolvaag, confessed the closeness of their work. Rose Wilder Lane introduced *Free Land*¹² with the clear inference that her novel is the story of *all* the people who took part in the great land taking, and in *Spring Came on Forever*¹³ Bess Streeter Aldrich offered us "a section of real life." These are the leaders in the field and their position is clear. It is not too much to say that the other novelists of the middle border are in the same tradition.

To facilitate the historians' use of this material I have prepared a critical bibliography of all of the widely circulated novels of the middle border, basing my criticism solely upon their fidelity to the prairie, and their value to the historian. The problem of the realistic novelist is not unlike the problem of any historian in that a novel, like a history book, involves selection. The false realist is not so likely to have recounted falsehoods instead of facts, as he is to have selected facts in a false proportion. But this is no new problem for the historian.

(These criticisms involve an element of personal judgment which is arrived at by having compared each of the novels with available historical references, and with each other, and which is reinforced by whatever understanding of the middle border has come from my having lived there all of my life and grown up among her traditions.)

A Critical Bibliography

Hamlin Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border*, because it is probably the most widely known of any story of the middle border, demands an attention which it does not deserve. Garland insisted that he was a realist, but his real object was to debunk the earlier optimistic pictures of the frontier. Then, too, he faced certain intellectual difficulties. He didn't believe that a life without music, paintings, and the stage could possibly be worth while; he was abnormally repelled by physical labor; he had no sympathy with the pioneering dream; he had a Populist ax to grind, and he had the intellectual equipment of a precocious sophomore. He does contribute, unconsciously, a study of the plight of the man who by some circumstance (in his case, birth) finds himself on the prairie without the dream to sustain him.

Rose Wilder Lane has made two useful contributions to the literature of the middle border, *Let the Hurricane Roar*¹⁴ and *Free Land*. Her work is useful for its complete mastery of detail. Both novels, but especially *Free Land*, must have been the fruit of painstaking research into every detail of pioneer life. Her special interest seems to have been in the economics of homesteading and many of her pages read like a kind of auditor's report.

⁹ New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

¹⁰ New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

¹¹ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927.

¹² New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1938.

¹³ New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935.

¹⁴ New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1933.

⁷ These examples are from Vol. V, *Pierre*: State Publishing Company, 1910.

⁸ *Criticism and Fiction*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892.

The harrow had cost sixteen dollars; in this country, the lumber and teeth and irons to make one would cost as much. Seed wheat out here was \$2.50 a bushel because of the freight charges; for fourteen and a half acres, that was \$57.37. A man needed a seeder; David considered an end-gate seeder, but that cost \$12.60, and in these rough winds it would serve little better than careful hand sowing. A real seeder cost sixty dollars. (p. 216)

Mrs. Lane's limitation is that she sees no significance beneath the facts she relates. She does not examine into motives, conflicts, or reasons for anything.

The greatest interpreter of the forces that were at work on the middle border was Ole Rolvaag. In *Giants in the Earth* he not only presented the surface details, but he caught exactly the pioneering dream in all its grand extravagance.

Such soil! Only to sink the plow into it, to turn over the sod—and there was a field ready for seeding . . . and here was per Hansa, walking around on a hundred and sixty acres of it, all his very own!

A beautiful, alluring thought had begun to beckon him. His first quarter-section was rightly only tillage land; the quarter next to it to the east would be about what he needed for hay and pasture for the cattle; yes, he could even use the one to the west of it, too. (pp. 110-111)

Rolvaag understood the dream, but he understood too that it was not given to all people, and he faced squarely up to the other realities of the prairie.

For you and me, life out here is nothing; but there may be others so constructed that they don't fit into this life at all; and yet they are finer and better souls than either one of us. (p. 416)

In Rolvaag's two sequels, *Peter Victorious*¹⁵ and *Their Fathers' God*¹⁶ he traced the problem of the ethnic amalgamation of the second generation Norwegians.

Pretty soon there'll be nothing but English here—it's English at home, only English wherever one turns. The language we have spoken time out of mind, we cast away as if it were a worn out garment . . . And now our own minister comes along saying *yea* and *amen* to the act. Oh, it's shameful—shameful, I say! (P. V., p. 211)

His scope included politics, education, and religion, and he brought the problem down to a fundamental incompatibility between the Norwegians and the Irish settlers that he was forced to leave unresolved.

Rolvaag, as we have observed, is the best interpreter of the forces at work in the middle border, but he was essentially a fatalist. He saw the prairie as active, working its will on passive men. Consequently his characters are not useful to us. They are not so much the pioneers as they are the lenses through which we see the prairie itself.

Willa Cather, on the other hand, saw the earth lying passive against the activity of men. Men took their living from the soil by their own vision, resourcefulness, labor, and faith. In the first seventy pages of *O Pioneers* and in *My Antonia*¹⁷ she told the story of the eastern European immigrants to Nebraska. In the latter she traced the development of a Nebraska homestead from the erection of the sod shanty until the development of substantial, modern farming. She has Mrs. Lane's gift for details without her emphasis, and she caught the dream, the spirit of the prairie without Rolvaag's almost supernatural overtones.

"But how do you know that land is going to go up enough to pay the mortgages . . . and make us rich besides?"

"I can't explain that, Lou. You'll have to take my word for it. I know, that's all. When you drive about over the country you can feel it coming." (*O. Pio.*, p. 67)

To her comprehension of the life, the ethnic complexity, and the spirit of the prairie, Willa Cather brought, as no other author has, the people themselves. She gives us all the varieties of people who found their ways to the frontier; she sees them all with equal clarity, and she enables us to see in turn the prairie through these different eyes. Each of them had different motives, and to each of them the prairie was different. Because she has this added scope we should designate *My Antonia* as the best single novel of the middle border.

Bess Streeter Aldrich is another woman who has written successfully of the Nebraska homesteads. *A Lantern in Her Hand* is a biography of one woman from the day in 1854 when her family left Chicago to settle in Iowa until she died on her own homestead in prosperous, modern Nebraska. It presents a good selection of realistic detail, and contributes the picture of an American woman who saw the prairie as an economic opportunity and turned her back, but not without occasional bitterness, on a genuine talent in the arts. It suggests an interesting problem in values.

Mrs. Aldrich opened *Spring Came on Forever* with the promise that she was going to be a hard-headed realist. Instead it is a romantic little tale against a background that adds little to the details that we had from her previous novel. It does, however, contribute something of a picture of a German Lutheran colony and of the early days of Lincoln, Nebraska.

It is difficult to take seriously a novel in which a girl named Sheila Connors is discovered to be part Indian and in the last chapter rides off into the sunset with her Indian lover, but Josephine Donovan's *Black Soil*¹⁸ does contribute some useful material, particularly of primitive country schools. The real use of this novel is its picture of the ethnic complexity of northwest Iowa prior to the extensive Dutch immigration.

Johan Bojer's *The Emigrants*¹⁹ is inevitably to be compared with *Giants in the Earth* because they were both written originally in Norwegian. Bojer tells a straight-forward account of a colony of Norwegians from the time they left their native hills until they saw their settlement in the Red River Valley of North Dakota grow into a prosperous community. He touches most of the problems Rolvaag handled, but with far less perception. And the immigrants whose story he told were luckier than most. They arrived in the early 1880s when prices were good and nature was kind in the Valley, and the book ends before the collapse of the dream in the 1920s. He does, however, add another important character to our knowledge of the middle border. Erik Foss, the promoter who returned from America to Norway, brought these people over, saw them safely through the strange land, found their claims, showed them how to farm the new land, and furnished what law there was on the prairie is an important part of the history of these states. Bojer tells us more of the contact between the pioneers and the people left behind in Norway, and of the attitude of those who stayed behind toward the adventure than Rolvaag did. The most useful problem he poses, however, is the effect of the sudden possession

¹⁵ O. E. Rolvaag, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929.

¹⁶ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931.

¹⁷ New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926.

¹⁸ Boston: The Stratford Company, 1930.

¹⁹ New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1925.

of complete freedom and democracy on these Norwegian peasants—how some of them revolted from the church, others took petty advantage of those who had been their superiors in Europe, and others grew greedy for money and land.

Eleanor Gates' *The Plow Woman*²⁰ deserves attention only because it takes us to the western edge of the middle border and bridges the gap between the homesteaders and the cow country. Another novel of this sort is *The Homesteaders*, by Kate and Virgil Boyles.²¹ It is a stereotyped picture of homesteading in the Rosebud country of South Dakota, but it does offer one of the few stories of the conflict between the homesteaders and the ranchers told from the point of view of the homesteaders.

There are other novels which touch upon aspects of the middle border, C. J. Cannon's *Red Rust*,²² Herbert Krause's *Wind Without Rain*,²³ and Martha Ostenso's *Wild Geese*,²⁴ but none of them are of value to the historian.

In previous footnotes we have noted the most useful histories of the region,²⁵ especially Everett Dick's excellent work. And if in the process of culling the novels of the middle border there has been an overdose of dust storms, blizzards, grasshoppers, madness and futility, Weare Holbrook provides a welcome antidote in an otherwise unimportant little item called "The Corn Belt Renaissance."²⁶

²⁰ New York: McClure, Phillips and Company, 1906.

²¹ Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1909.

²² Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938.

²³ New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939.

²⁴ New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1925.

²⁵ See notes 3, 5, 6, and 7.

²⁶ *Forum*. Vol. LXXII (1924), pp. 118-120.

Initial Difficulties

(Continued from page eighty)

more in the care of one of the sisters. But on the morning of departure the attending physician advised that she be taken along because the trip might prove beneficial. As long as the traveling was by railroad the novice seemed in good spirits, but when the change to the stage-coach was made she became seriously ill. Nothing could be done for her until she reached Harrisburg. Then it was too late. Immediately upon arrival she collapsed and was dead in a short time. The New World had demanded its first holocaust. The body had to be laid in a lonely grave, while the sisters pushed on to their destination.

The chronicler describes part of the ensuing journey as follows:

Two days more, and the travelers no longer saw highways nor waterways. They were passing through a wilderness; their conveyance was a rough, old-fashioned wagon. The baggage was secured in the wagon box. Loose boards lay crosswise over the sides of the box to serve for seats. The road was a narrow cut through the woods; on every side stumps of the felled trees stood five or six inches above the ground. The horses went on slowly, and the wagon was jolted severely at nearly every step. They were in constant danger of being thrown out or tipped over.¹⁰

Eventually the sisters arrived at their destination. They soon discovered that the American descriptions of St. Mary's had not been exaggerated. Although they re-

ceived a most cordial welcome from the Redemptorists and the colonists, and were happy that they could again don their habits, they could find consolation only in prayer. Despite all statements to the contrary, they could find nothing that resembled a town. The church was a rough-hewn frame building. Block-houses were scattered here and there in little clearings amidst stumps and fallen trees. The convent of the sisters was a log-house that had been abandoned by some dissatisfied settler, devoid of every comfort and distinguished from the other poor houses only by a cross above the gable. Within a few days another such house was fitted out as a school for girls, and Sister Caroline opened the first school of the School Sisters of Notre Dame in the United States. The other sisters strove to give their own house the appearance of a convent.

Meanwhile Mother Teresa hurried to Pittsburgh to present herself to Bishop Michael O'Connor and to ask his blessing upon the work of the sisters in his diocese. Here she met another ordeal. Although she had been assured by the representative of the company that the bishop was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the sisters, and a general letter of such import had been shown to her, he accused the sisters of trying to force their way into his diocese. When he asked for a copy of the Constitution in order to have proof that the sisters were a recognized religious community, she could not produce it because it was even then being prepared for presentation to the Holy See. And thus Bishop O'Connor dismissed the venerable Mother without the promise of acceptance into the diocese until he had made inquiries in Europe. She wrote home that "the bishop did not even say whether he would tolerate us here; for he fears the jealousies and disharmony with the sisters he has brought over from Ireland."¹¹ It was indeed a bitter moment for a stranger in a strange land. Even though the bishop later relented and showed himself most helpful to the sisters, that change in attitude was not then apparent.

Back at St. Mary's Mother Teresa debated with herself whether she should permit the sisters to remain in the United States or whether it would be more advisable to take them back to Bavaria where so much work awaited them. At length, after much prayer and careful consideration, she decided to keep some of the sisters at St. Mary's temporarily. She herself, with Sisters Magdalen and Caroline, returned to Baltimore, again to consult with Father Neumann. He did not give any sign of surprise at her return. From experience he understood the difficulties. But he ventured to point out that conditions might be somewhat different in other parts of the country, and he showed her the immense field of possibilities open to the sisters in the United States because their cooperation in the schools was really needed. He then expressed the desire that they take charge of the schools for girls in the Redemptorist parishes. Although he felt constrained to mention that the fathers could not build a motherhouse for the sisters on account of their own lack of funds, he conceded that one of the abandoned Redemptorist houses near the church of St. James in Baltimore might be quickly refitted for a motherhouse and that it could be had for \$18,000, to be paid in in-

¹⁰ Friess, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

¹¹ *Archiv Angerkloster*. Cited in *Gelbe Hefte*, I(1924/25), 643.

stalments.

Foundation at Baltimore

Mother Teresa had now set her heart on keeping the sisters in the United States. Without much ado she accepted the offer of the building for the motherhouse, even though she had no ready cash on hand. But she was confident that the help promised by King Louis and the Ludwig-Missionsverein would be available. She was not disappointed, for she received half the sum soon after applying for it. Accordingly the three sisters quickly set the newly acquired convent in order. Without much delay they then took charge of the girls' departments in the three parish schools of the Redemptorists in Baltimore, each sister teaching in a different school.

Having thus established the sisters in the United States, Mother Teresa immediately sent a demand for eleven more sisters to Munich. Their arrival was anxiously awaited, for the sisters had been compelled to accept the care of some orphans, a charge always welcomed by them. Candidates were also applying for admission to the community, and the three sisters in Baltimore alone could not possibly have given them the necessary training while they were actively occupied in the schools. A serene dawn had followed a tempestuous night, even though the housing of the growing community left much to be desired, and the teaching was encompassed with very many difficulties.

About this time Bishop John Martin Henni, who was then strenuously occupied in building up his new diocese of Milwaukee, paid an unexpected visit to Mother Teresa, having heard of her arrival probably through his contacts with the Ludwig-Missionsverein. He was then embarking upon a begging tour of Europe, but first tried to persuade Mother Teresa of the advisability of establishing her American motherhouse in his diocese rather than in Baltimore. He explained to her that Wisconsin was then fast becoming the mecca of the German Catholic immigrants, and the sisters could naturally employ their talents to best advantage in such surroundings. Since the bishop was the first ordinary in the United States to take a personal interest in the sisters and his explanations seemed so realistic, Mother Teresa was deeply impressed. At the same time the Redemptorists were clamoring for sisters to serve in their already established parishes not quite so far west as Milwaukee. Their requests could not be simply brushed aside, for they were really interested in the work of the sisters. The demands called for consideration and inspection.

At the beginning of summer Mother Teresa accordingly set out on an inspection tour, accompanied by Sister Caroline and chaperoned by Father Neumann. The latter details the journey as follows:

Our journey took us from here [Baltimore] to Pittsburgh, to Beaver on the Ohio River, to Cleveland on Lake Erie, to Detroit, through Michigan to Chicago, and finally to Milwaukee. We returned to Detroit by way of Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, and Lake St. Clair. We crossed Lake Erie to Buffalo. Then we journeyed to Rochester, New York City and Philadelphia, and finally back to Baltimore, a journey of two thousand four hundred miles. Thanks to the divine assistance, no misfortune overtook us.¹²

Even though no misfortune overtook the travelers, the journey was filled with greater dangers and discomforts

than the simple recital would indicate. But Mother Teresa gained valuable knowledge about the work that confronted the sisters, and she began immediately to plan ways and means to further the projects. In the midst of this occupation the sisters in Munich urgently requested her return to the general motherhouse. Even though no harm had come to them, they were still quivering from the terror that had befallen them in the past revolutionary days. More important, the ratification of the Constitution demanded immediate attention lest serious harm come to the new sisterhood, as had been exemplified in the action of Bishop O'Connor. And so Mother Teresa sailed for Europe on July 20, 1848, never again to set foot on American soil, but she always retained a particular interest in this country. She left the American sisters under the direct superiorship of Sister Seraphine, the eldest in the community, but the charge and management of the schools was put in the hands of the youngest sister in the group, Sister Caroline.

The young superintendent of schools immediately set out to establish the schools that had been planned for Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Buffalo, all in parishes of the Redemptorists, who looked upon the sisters as their special coadjutors in the education of girls. Almost naturally then, when these fathers found an opening to escape from St. Mary's, the sisters also abandoned their first foundation in the United States, asserting that the conditions in the colony were entirely adverse to their religious and educational aspirations.

Since the new foundations demanded additional help, Mother Teresa sent another contingent of ten sisters soon after her return to Bavaria. They arrived at Baltimore on January 8, 1849, and were the last group sent from Munich. After this the growth of the community depended entirely on American recruits, who applied in ever increasing numbers. Young ladies asked permission to enter the congregation from the time they had their first contacts with the sisters, first those of German parentage, later those of other extraction. The early ones took part in the first profession at Baltimore on August 15, 1849. Thus the sisters were able not only to build upon the solid foundations laid by the European members of the community; they could also more readily adapt themselves to American conditions without losing the original spirit. This has made them such important cogs in the machinery of the Church in the United States.

Difficulties in Adjustment

The adaptation, however, caused some initial difficulties. Mother Teresa had always insisted that her congregation should not be subject to the authority of any religious order or congregation and that it should not become diocesan in character. Therefore she applied herself strenuously to the task of securing an early approbation from the Sacred Congregation in Rome, and in this she was successful in 1859, when the Constitution of the School Sisters of Notre Dame was approved. She was also anxious, as she had been in Munich, to have a specially chosen spiritual director for the American community, who would at the same time make the necessary contacts with the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. She persuaded the Rev. Alois Schmid, nephew of the well-known author Christoph von Schmid, to accept the

¹² Munich *Annalen der Glaubensverbreitung*, XVI(1848), 439.

appointment for Baltimore. He came to this country with the last contingent of European sisters, and immediately began to spend his energies for the welfare of the sisters and their pupils. A clerical friend said of him that he "knew no other priest as pious, learned, humble and unassuming."¹³ The choice was therefore excellent and gave promise of wonderful results in the future. Unfortunately Father Schmid was not able to stand up under the many vexatious difficulties of those early days. After one short year he was dead. At European suggestion, Bishop Henni then sent the zealous Father Matthias Steiger to take the place of the deceased director. He too became ill, had to return to Milwaukee, and died there in the epidemic of 1851. Then the Redemptorists assumed the duty of spiritual directors. But since the principal American motherhouse had already been removed to Milwaukee, the general plan of Mother Teresa could be taken up there.

Another difficulty of adaptation resulted from the matter of religious enclosure. Mother Teresa had always insisted that it be observed strictly in the manner of the old religious orders of sisters. Conditions in this country, particularly the work of the sisters in the parochial schools, made such enforcement most difficult. Various subterfuges were therefore necessary to preserve the outward semblance of enclosure, such as keeping the shades tightly drawn about the carriage when the sisters were conveyed from the convent to the schools. Now some of the sisters became dissatisfied with such circumvention of the law and demanded a lawful mitigation. When they were upheld in their demand by members of the clergy, they sent letters of inquiry and explanation to Munich; but the letters remained unanswered. The superioress, Sister Seraphine, although herself in favor of the old law, then decided upon a bold step. She commanded Sister Caroline, one of the promoters of mitigation, to go to Munich in order to thresh out the matter personally with the Mother General.

The poor sister was compelled to cross the ocean without a companion, without a letter of recommendation or explanation. The Mother General was not even apprised of her coming. Naturally the arrival in the motherhouse caused a sensation. Sister Caroline was considered a fugitive, and, when her mission was made known, a rebel to lawful authority. She was kept apart from the community and was permitted no communication with any of the sisters. After a long period of waiting, she finally received a hearing, when the matters under discussion were gravely considered by the superiors, both religious and ecclesiastical.

At the same time another matter, indirectly connected with the first, was under consideration. It was the question concerning the location of the American motherhouse. Bishop Henni's petition to have it in Milwaukee had already been acted upon, as can be seen from a letter of Father Mueller of the Ludwig-Missionsverein to the bishop, February 16, 1850, in which he writes:

I had a conference with the Mother Superior concerning the purchase of property or a dwelling for the School Sisters. She is of the opinion that if the proposed house and its garden are suit-

able for the needs of the sisters and are conveniently located, she would consent to an immediate payment of 5000 gulden or \$2000 in cash and the remainder in a year. But if Your Excellency should find something better and more suitable, this should be bought.¹⁴

Despite this arrangement, Father Mueller somehow got the impression that the bishop was acting too slowly and might possibly not want the motherhouse in his diocese. On March 5, before he could have received an answer to the previous letter, he again wrote:

I must ask you to give me a definite answer concerning the School Sisters. Do you or do you not want them? Bishop Timon, who visited here, wants them in Rochester. I promised them to him in case Your Excellency would definitely state that you do not want them, i.e. that you do not want a motherhouse in your diocese. Therefore I beg you again to give me a definite answer, so that I may be able to proceed with some definite plan.¹⁵

In the meantime Bishop Henni gave an answer to the first letter, for after only a month, April 8, Father Mueller addressed the following to him:

Yesterday I received your letter of March 2, and I hasten to answer it so that you may not be prevented from purchasing the property for the School Sisters. . . .

Concerning the matter of the School Sisters, they will be most grateful to you if you will buy the stated property for \$3000 and under the conditions mentioned. Of course they have no money and also have a debt of more than 20,000 gulden in America. But for Milwaukee a helping hand has been extended here with a loan of \$1500 — for interest rates are lower here than in America. I shall attend to the payment of the other half at the proper time, and you need not worry about it. But I must ask you to have the deed made out immediately in the name of the three School Sisters Seraphina Pronatti, Carolina Friess, and Emanuela Schmid.¹⁶

Motherhouse at Milwaukee

From the contents of this letter we can conclude that the founding of the American motherhouse in Milwaukee had been decided upon in early spring. Somewhat later, June 25, Father Mueller stated that "the founding of a motherhouse in the West is a great consolation to me, and it will be the source of blessings for that region."¹⁷ But the unexpected arrival of Sister Caroline at Munich in late summer disarranged the previous plans. On September 7, before the true state of affairs was known, Father Mueller addressed the bishop as follows:

I received your last letter in due time; but Sister Superior can do nothing at present. Imagine, Caroline came to Europe from America unexpectedly, in order to prevent, as I am inclined to think, the establishment of the motherhouse in Milwaukee. The Redemptorists seem to be setting everything in motion to prevent the founding. It will not help them in the least. The motherhouse will be moved to Milwaukee. In punishment Sister Caroline will have to remain in Europe and Sister Philomena will be the superior in Milwaukee. Therefore I beg Your Excellency to offer a hearty reception to the sisters, since it is only for your sake that all of this has been done.¹⁸

As the business representative and factotum of the Ludwig-Missionsverein, Father Mueller was intensely interested in the propagation and preservation of the faith in the New World. Consequently he supplied the Redemptorists with generous mission funds to carry on their extensive work among the German Catholics. They, on their part, considered the schools of the sisters necessary adjuncts to this work and thought it could be safeguarded only if the fathers also had charge of the spiritual direction of the sisters in the motherhouse. That may explain their great efforts to keep the motherhouse in Baltimore under their supervision.

¹⁴ *Archives Archdiocese Milwaukee*. Mueller to Henni.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³ *Archives Archdiocese Milwaukee*. Mueller to Henni, February 16, 1850. Cf. Willibald Mathaer, *Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in der Zeit Koenig Ludwigs I von Bayern*, p. 298.

Although Father Mueller did not want to prevent the good results of this work, he had in time become much more interested in the western part of our country, particularly the diocese of Bishop Henni, because he thought that help to these parts would guarantee the future of Catholicism among the German immigrants much more than help to the eastern districts. Therefore Wisconsin, the great attraction for German immigrants at that time, should also be the center of the work of the School Sisters. Having convinced Mother Teresa that his conviction was correct, he carried his point concerning the location of the motherhouse. Accordingly she decided that Milwaukee must become the focal point from which all activities of the sisters in the United States must proceed. She had also given careful consideration to Sister Caroline's viewpoint on the enclosure, and had finally approved it. Sister Caroline was not only absolved from all thought of suspicion; she was accepted into the full confidence of Mother Teresa. In consequence she was ordered to establish the motherhouse in Milwaukee, was given charge over all the American sisters, and was deputed to promulgate the new rules of enclosure. On October 9, 1850, Father Mueller was able to announce to Bishop Henni:

Tomorrow Sister Caroline Friess will depart from here and will take your niece Agnes along to North America. I have given her 400 gulden for the expenses of the journey, and this amount will be put on your account. Sister Caroline has been appointed the superioress in Milwaukee, and she will found the motherhouse there. Father Hafkenschied himself is now in Munich, and he has done everything he possibly could. The archbishop is his friend from their student days. But I kept on insisting, as also did Mother Teresa. Therefore be very careful that nothing will occur to prevent the accomplishment.

I have supplied the School Sisters with everything needed for the chapel: 10 new chasubles, 8 old ones, 1 monstrance, 1 ciborium, 1 particle of the true Cross, 4 candlesticks, 1 censer with boat, 3 canon tablets, 1 crucifix, 1 missal. I have designated all of these things for the motherhouse. They are my property, for I acquired them from the proceeds of the publication of a book. If for any reason the motherhouse should not be founded in Milwaukee, or if the Sisters should not remain there, they will be obliged to turn everything over to Your Excellency. I appoint you the custodian, and I demand that Sister Caroline show everything to you. . . .

Therefore do be careful, and see to it that all these matters are settled quickly. Whatever I can do to help will be done.¹⁹

Upon her return, Mother Caroline immediately founded the motherhouse in Milwaukee, and from it as a center she directed all the activities of the School Sisters of Notre Dame in the United States, always subject to the final approval of the Mother General. Bishop Henni himself acted as the spiritual director in the motherhouse for several months. But as soon as he could he appointed Father Anthony Urbanek, one of the outstanding priests in the diocese, to take this responsible position. The chaplain's interest in the work of the sisters may be deduced from the following description:

There is hardly another community of women that is so much a mission society as this new Congregation of the Poor School Sisters. Their work is varied and extensive, in order that these sisters may become all to all. Since there is such a conglomeration of the finest and coarsest elements in this country, of the best and the worst, and this becomes particularly apparent in the children, these sisters must fit themselves for all kinds of conditions. At the same time they must always be careful not to lose the spirit of their congregation, so that they may attain the purpose of their vocation, the eternal salvation of the souls of the children.²⁰

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Munich *Annalen der Glaubensverbreitung*, XXIII(1855), 354.

The first obstacles had been surmounted when the motherhouse was established in Milwaukee; they were not to be the last. Mother Caroline was the providential leader to surmount them. She always kept the interests of her American community and its purposes before her eyes. Although she resided in Milwaukee, she did not neglect other regions, as can be seen from the establishment of a second motherhouse at Baltimore as the head of an eastern province in 1877. She also laid the foundations that later brought motherhouses to St. Louis, Mankato, and Waterdown. And she remained the energetic leader and superioress of all the American sisters until her death in 1891, at first as vicar general, then as commissary general. In this year of jubilee Mother Fidelis, successor to Mother Caroline and the other Commissaries General, governs the six thousand School Sisters of Notre Dame in North America in the spirit of the founders under the general supervision of the Mother General in Munich.

The great difficulties of the founding years have not become mere facts of history. They brought the blessings by means of which the School Sisters of Notre Dame made a most valuable impression upon the religious life and the Catholic school system of the Church during their first hundred years in the United States.

Louisiana Purchase

(Continued from page eighty-two)

One must also take into consideration that in 1804 Spain withdrew her protests over the Purchase, thus cancelling any valid objections which she had.¹²

Answers by the Experts

Therefore, in answer to the first of the two questions posed in the earlier part of this paper it seems proper to conclude that Napoleon *did* own Louisiana but that he had no right to sell it. Whitaker in his discussion of this question asserts that Channing characterized the role of the United States in the Louisiana Purchase as that of an accomplice of the greatest highwayman in modern history and a receiver of stolen goods. The facts, Whitaker adds, do not altogether justify this harsh judgment.¹³

To the second question: "Why did Napoleon sell Louisiana?" there are a number of answers. The most usual one is two-fold: he sold it because he feared England would take it as soon as the inevitable war would come about, and because it was of little use as a consequence of the French failure to gain control over Santo Domingo.

That is the usual answer, and it is not without value. But such a bewildering number of reasons has been assigned for the sale that it seems necessary to list them according to authors and rest without a final answer. A final answer is very satisfying—but this is a paper on diplomatic history. First there will be an enumeration of Adams' reasons. He rejects the common idea that fear of England was the real motive; for, he says, Napoleon would have welcomed an English attempt

¹² *A History of the United States*, Edward Channing IV., p. 323, The MacMillan Co., N. Y., 1932.

¹³ Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

to seize the land since such a move would have thrown the United States into the arms of France. He rejects the idea that money was the reason for the sale. The First Consul could have got money from Godoy. It can hardly be suggested, says Adams, that love for the United States was the reason, for the difficulties between France and the United States, only settled in 1800 and soon to be revived by the Continental System, did not indicate any good feeling between the two countries. Adams even suggests that Napoleon carried out the deal in order to break up the United States. He is said to have had great hatred for this country and to have thought that the incubus of Louisiana would so weigh down the statesmen of America that their country would go down under its burden. Adams final statement on this question is:

The real reasons which induced Bonaparte to alienate the territory from France remained hidden in the mysterious processes of his mind. Perhaps he could not himself have given the true explanation of his act. Anger with Spain and Godoy had a share in it, as he avowed through Talleyrand's letter of June 22; disgust for the sacrifices he had made, and impatience to begin his new campaigns on the Rhine—possibly a wish to show Talleyrand that his policy could never be revived, and that he had no choice but to follow into Germany—had still more to do with the act. Yet it is also reasonable to believe that the depths of his nature concealed a wish to hide forever the monument of a defeat. As he would have liked to blot Corsica, Egypt, and Santo Domingo from the map, and to wipe from human memory the record of his failures, he may have taken pleasure in flinging Louisiana far off, and burying it forever from the sight of France in the bosom of the only government which could absorb and conceal it.¹⁴

Chadwick, in opposition to Adams, maintains that

fear of England was one reason why Napoleon wanted to sell. He adds this, too: that Napoleon felt that with the territory safely out of England's reach in the possession of the United States, France would be able to have very profitable commercial relations with it.¹⁵

Whitaker shows that Talleyrand had the effrontery to blame Spain for the sale. She had made France's position impossible by withdrawing the right of deposit just as France was to take over the territory. Whitaker partially agrees with Talleyrand but he says:

There was of course a great deal left unsaid—considerations relating to British sea power, French reverses in St. Domingue, and many other matters. But there can be little doubt that again in this Paris negotiation, . . . the pressure of American expansion in the Mississippi Valley contributed to a notable triumph of American diplomacy in Europe.¹⁶

Channing points out that the instability of Europe claimed Napoleon's attention and hints that during a war the colonies of France could be taken over by the enemy.¹⁷

This is as far as the limits of such a paper can be extended. It is not pleasant to terminate without finishing but since the evidence is not conclusive the opinion of Adams is most appropriate: "The real reasons which induced Bonaparte to alienate the territory from France remained hidden in the mysterious processes of his mind."

¹⁴ Adams, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 51-65, *passim*.

¹⁵ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹⁶ Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 5, 6.

¹⁷ Channing, *op. cit.*, p. 315, 6.

Recent Books in Review

European History

Complacent Dictator, by the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare.
New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. pp. xvi + 319. \$3.50

Sir Samuel Hoare was created Viscount Templewood as a reward for the services to England which these pages recount. He was already a seasoned statesman when he was sent to Spain and he had served his country in many important domestic and international positions. His name was already prominent in European affairs before World War II broke over Europe. At one time he had even some hand in the appeasement of the dictators of Germany and Italy. Neville Chamberlain's ultimate appeasement at Munich gave England, in Templewood's opinion, just a bit of time to get ready for the inevitable war. Now when ruin came crashing down upon Europe in 1940 it was the author's fate to be invited by his government to go to Spain to try to appease still another dictator, Francisco Franco. Templewood, aided by other forces and other influences, succeeded in his difficult task. Perhaps we can call this "good appeasement", for it kept Dictator Franco from joining the Axis; if he had, the task of the Allied Nations in World War II would have been rendered infinitely more difficult.

Templewood went down to Spain late in May, 1940, when the mechanized divisions of Hitler were over-running northwestern Europe. During June France would buckle up fatefully under stress of this attack. The evacuation of Dunkirk took place; England seemed helpless, France signed a humiliating armistice, the Germans were soon at the foot of the Pyrenees. In the midst of these calamities our author was in Madrid. Here again he saw Germans everywhere, headed by the formidable Baron von Stohrer, swollen with the pride of momentary success. The reports which the author sent back to various members of the British Government during these dreadful months and which are given in the second chapter of this work put into clear focus the

German dominance and the ruinous depths in which Britain found herself engulfed. Would Hitler's columns march through helpless Spain, take Gibraltar, then move into Africa and sweep over the northern fringe of the Dark Continent? Already, writes Templewood in a letter of July 1, 1940, the Germans and Spaniards were fraternizing on the frontier. When would Hitler demand what seemed the inevitable. "When the demands come, it is difficult to see how they can be resisted. The will to resist is there, but not the power. All that I can do is to try to strengthen the will and hope that something may turn up before the demands are actually made." (Page 21) Something did happen. The rout of Mussolini's army by the Greeks diverted to the Balkans German guns which would have been needed were Spain to be invaded and the British lifeline of the Mediterranean cut in two.—These letters and reports of the summer of 1940 are very precious.

Internally, however, things became more dark in Spain. Franco seemed to become progressively more strongly linked to the Axis. An exchange of letters between himself and Hitler early in 1941 (which are given in appendix B) reveals the strength of this ominous relationship. The Caudillo's policy is represented in his dismissal of Colonel Beigbeder as Foreign Minister and his appointment of the sinister Ramón Serrano Suñer, who was wedded as well to Señora de Franco's sister as to Hitler's Germany. In Suñer's mind there was not the shadow of a doubt concerning Germany's early and complete triumph. As time wore on, as Britain successfully resisted, as German strength was diverted to Russia and broken there, once again the change of the Spanish dictator's policy is seen in his dismissal of Suñer and his appointment of the more wholesome and friendly personality of Count Jordana. Though this change was at first made for domestic reasons it worked ultimately for the benefit of the Allied Nations.

We read here in the total defeat of their country of the jealous divisions and the selfish ambitions of the leaders of France, of Darlan and Laval in particular. We read how Africa was ultimately saved from German conquest in part by the jealousies and suspicions of the Axis. Templewood has no illusions concerning the queer psychology of Spaniards and he states clearly

his belief in the impossibility of a Spanish republican regime. Division, the nemesis of Spaniards, would render such a government impossible. "If Franco's government fell tomorrow, there is not the least chance of a stable government of the left". (Page 20) There comes naturally to mind a comparison between this book and that of the American ambassador, *Wartime Mission in Spain*, published more than a year earlier by Carlton J. H. Hayes. Ambassador Hayes did not arrive in Spain until May, 1942, when most of the darkest days were over. He gives more of the intimate details of the workings of his diplomacy than does Viscount Templewood but less of the overall European picture. The American's book will seem to many readers more lucid and instructive as a study in diplomacy; he spends less time in the analysis of personalities; he is more sympathetic in his attitude towards the Spanish government. The Englishman's style is often heavy though his matter is always instructive. He agrees with the American in his analysis of Spanish psychology. He considers the Church a great stabilizing force in Spain, but regrets its too close attachment to the Franco regime.

Perhaps the words of the Duke of Wellington more than a century ago give the ultimate answer to the failure of the Axis in Spain: "There is no country in Europe in the affairs of which foreigners can interfere with so little advantage as Spain. There is no country in which foreigners are so much disliked, and even despised, and whose manners and habits are so little congenial with those of other nations in Europe."

The perusal of both these books, one by an English, the other by an American ambassador to Spain, confirms once again a truth which the record of history has amply demonstrated: Spaniards, with their divisive, passionate, and unrealistic nature, have need of some kind of monarch or dictator, if they are to be happy at all and to prosper. That they are incapable of succeeding in a democratic form of government is as clear as the day. This in spite of the superficial attitude of some "mushy-headed" liberals of the United States who do not know their history or their psychology, and the hypocritical machinations of Russia and her satellites who themselves live under dictatorships far more brutal than that of Spain.

University of San Francisco

PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S. J.

Suitors and Suppliants, by Stephen Bonsal. New York.

Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1946. pp. xviii + 302. \$3.50

Our twentieth century has brought home to us the great importance of personalities in shaping world events. Generals, statesmen, even minor politicians, prepare their memoirs personally or through ghost writers; and aides, associates, and newsmen publish their diaries and write biographies.

Wars and international crisis are brought about by a series of unsolved problems, some great but many quite small in the great world picture. Hence the purpose of this book by Stephen Bonsal — a brief glimpse into the smaller stage of the Versailles Peace Conference (1918-1919), the stage occupied by the suitors and suppliants from the small nations of the world each seeking a favor to be granted or a wrong to be righted.

The author, a veteran "foreign correspondent", acted as aide to Colonel House and confidential interpreter to President Wilson during the Versailles Conference. This book consists of pages from his "secret diary" of that time. Colonel House personally took care of Lloyd George and Clemenceau; to Major Bonsal was given the task of hearing the emissaries of the smaller nations.

There are no new "revelations" of earth-shaking importance contained in this book. Its chief value for the college teacher and student of history lies in its relative brevity, interesting style, and the fact that its comments have been selected in the light of the events of the past twenty-seven years. It is a fitting prelude to the author's *Unfinished Business* which won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1944. Teachers and students will find this book an interesting and worth-while addition to their reading list.

St. Mary's College

R. L. PORTER, S. J.

Oriental History

A Short History of the Far East, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York. The MacMillan Company. 1946. pp. xiv + 665. \$4.75

This book by an eminent authority on China and the Far East comes as a welcome contribution to Far Eastern History at this time when events in that portion of the world are so important yet so little understood. There, against a background of cultures and histories older than their European counterparts, interests in-

volving Great Britain, Soviet Russia, the United States, and to a lesser extent France and Holland, vie for predominance.

Unfortunately the western mind has very little grasp of that portion of the world known as the Far East. A common misconception is that the Orient is a unity. Actually there is no unity in the Far East; as Prof. Latourette points out (p. ix), "among the major cultures of the Orient as great differences in history, background and outlook exist as separate the Occident from the Orient. Between the civilizations of India and China, for instance . . . fully as wide a gulf yawns as between those of India and Europe."

The author develops this theme by sketching the history of the individual countries of the Far East from their origins to the present day. The story is narrated in two parts: first, prior to the influence of the white man, and secondly, after the white man has occasioned a revolution away from ancient practices.

The first portion traces the history and culture of pre-British India, of ancient and imperial China, and of the various lesser lands such as Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia, Korea, Eastern Siberia, Indo-China, Siam (Thailand), Burma, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, the East Indies and the Philippines to the early part of the nineteenth century. The story is told briefly and rapidly, and is often not much more than a chronological listing of unfamiliar Chinese, Japanese or other Oriental names of rulers and dynasties.

The second and greater portion of the book tells of the Far East in revolution. The white man came for commerce and trade; he stayed to conquer the greater portion of the land. Perhaps even more importantly, the white man brought western ideas and customs which soon clashed with those of the native populations. Prof. Latourette maintains a praiseworthy impartiality in narrating the early work of the westerners among the peoples of the Far East. He praises the British, however, for their wise colonizing policies, pointing out their great contributions to the health, education, modern methods of transportation, sound financial structure, equal justice and political consciousness of the Indian people. It is perhaps ironic that western ideas of political autonomy and nationalism were brought into India by the educational system established by Great Britain, only to boomerang against British rule. Moreover, British initiative and direction made India for the first time a political entity. "British occupation and administration prepared the way for their own elimination". (p. 317).

Several chapters are devoted to China and Japan of the last century. China of the early nineteenth century was proud of her civilization and disdainful of Western "barbarians", and hence attempted to preserve her political and cultural independence. However, pressure from western powers occasioned a great transformation towards the end of the century, and by the beginning of the present century every phase of Chinese life, political, economic, intellectual, social, moral and religious was strikingly affected. That revolution has not yet ended. At present it is in mid-course and herein lies a possible clue to many of the current difficulties in that country.

Of all the countries in the Far East, Japan's career is in many ways the most amazing. Within the space of approximately half a century Japan emerged from an isolationist existence wherein she was heremetically sealed from the rest of the world to the position of a world power. By an amalgamation of new western ideas and industrial methods with traditional Japanese customs, Japan strengthened her institutions and prepared herself for an ambitious program of conquests. By her defeat of China (1894-95) and of Russia (1903-05), by her alliance with Great Britain and by her participation in World War I, Japan acquired Korea, parts of Manchuria and strategic islands in the Pacific. Then, beginning in 1931, Japan embarked upon a course of conquest which by 1943 was to see her mistress of much of China Proper, the Philippines, the East Indies, Indo-China and Burma. Her success was short-lived, however, for within two years Japan was forced to accept terms of unconditional surrender. Professor Latourette concludes the history of the Far East in 1945 as the war ended and the various countries undertook the difficult post-war problems of rehabilitation.

The book is well-written and shows good organization and preparation of a difficult subject. After each chapter is appended a select bibliography. At the end of the book are maps of the areas covered in the narrative. Only three typographical errors were noted: on p. 202, l. 33, the author undoubtedly means Japan instead of China. On p. 325, l. 28, the date should be 1928 instead of 1920. Finally on p. 582, l. 1, the Russo-German non-aggression pact is dated August, 1938, whereas it occurred a year later, in 1939.

St. Louis University

ANTHONY F. CZAJKOWSKI.

American History

The Lincoln Reader, edited, with an introduction by Paul M. Angle. New Brunswick. Rutgers University Press. 1947. pp. xii + 564. \$3.75

In the late twenties *The Atlantic Monthly* offered its readers a great treat in a newly discovered Lincoln collection: letters and marginalia of young Lincoln, and letters and memoranda of Ann Rutledge and friends. The collection was a rare find and a promising contribution; so all conceded until an expert on Lincoln, his suspicions aroused by a few anachronisms, applied the known tests of authenticity (paper, ink, pedigree, handwriting, etc.) to the documents and judged them of questionable origin and most probably spurious. There was little the editors of the *Atlantic* could do but accept with the best possible grace the humiliating verdict of the expert. The expert was Paul M. Angle, a recognized authority on Lincoln who has done much to prevent the real Lincoln from being lost in the land of legends. If there are those who still entertain such fears Angle's latest contribution, *The Lincoln Reader*, should put them to rest. The volume is a road-block to such a fate.

The Lincoln Reader is a biography from biographies. The idea behind the book is the sound one that there is a limit to any one man's understanding of a great character and that the best picture should come from the perceptions, properly focused, of all. Only the master of all Lincoln literature and of other arts could attempt it and succeed. In this case the attempt has succeeded exceedingly well. The real Lincoln emerges from these 175 selections of sixty-five authors, a list which includes the unknown, the least known and the best known. No monopoly, however, has been granted to the best known authors; they await their turn while the lesser lights are called upon to make their contribution. Lincoln himself, Nicolay & Hay, Sandburg, Tarbell, Beveridge, Barton, tell us about Lincoln's Kentucky boyhood; Thomas, Busey, Townsend, Nicolay & Hay, Herndon, about Lincoln of Illinois. With an introduction to each chapter and a few transitional sentences to each selection the story develops with a minimum of repetition and lacunae. I suspect that many readers would have favored lengthier introductory notes and observations by Angle. Some, for instance, might not appreciate that Lincoln's progress as a lawyer coincides with that painful period of romance when, at times, he was physically incapacitated. Again, others might miss the full importance of many national events which conditioned Lincoln's views on the great crisis.

The genuine Lincoln appears in the pages of this volume; there is no excuse for legends overtaking him. What a partisan Whig he was in Congress as he labored to show the administration wrong in the origin and conduct of the Mexican War; how he disliked the Eastern manners which compelled him to abandon the use of his hat as a cabinet file; yet how marvelously independent and how clearly superior he was over the "greats" of the Republican party, over Seward who could only suggest a war with a European nation to solve the fratricidal strife, and Chase who could never forget his personal ambitions; and what a master he was of simple, clear, forcible English enriched at times with religious fervor, as when at Springfield he bade goodbye, "Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good."

One observation on the selections. Angle twice uses the famous but anonymous *The Diary of a Public Man* and thereby seems to lend his authority to those who would accept this work as a genuine historical piece. The volume was published by the press of Rutgers University and has been selected by the Book-of-the-Month Club. It is good to see the book clubs going to the colleges and universities for their selections.

College of the Holy Cross

WM. L. LUCEY, S. J.

Edward Kavanagh, by William Leo Lucey, S. J. Franconia, New Hampshire. Marshall Jones Company. 1946. pp. viii + 270. \$3.50

James Kavanagh emigrated from County Wexford to Boston after the American Revolution. After a short stay in Boston he and his Irish partner, Matthew Cottrill, went to Newcastle, Maine. There they both prospered in business and became respected, influential members of this community on the Damariscotta River. James Kavanagh's eldest son, Edward, found political and diplomatic work more to his liking than the managing of his father's declining business. In his forty-nine years Edward Kavanagh climbed up the political ladder to become, in the last year of his life, governor of Maine. His career cuts

across the decline of the Federalist party, the rise of Jacksonian democracy, and the coming of the Whigs. It takes into view the establishment of the Irish in New England, and the coming of nativist movements there. It includes negotiations for our first treaty with Portugal, and it takes us through the intricacies of bargaining before the conclusion of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

Throughout this period of American history Edward Kavanagh made one "first" after another. He was probably the first Catholic elected to a New England school committee, certainly one of the first Catholic selectmen anywhere in New England. He was the first Catholic to serve in Maine's legislature, the first to be sent from there to Congress, and the first Catholic to be governor of a New England state. Nevertheless, Edward Kavanagh has not been the subject of a biographical study—despite his career of public service, interesting both in itself and for the period of history through which it moves.

This blank in American history has been filled in by Father William Lucey, a frequent contributor to the *Historical Bulletin*, with his admirable study of Edward Kavanagh's life. This biography combines solid scholarship with excellent presentation of an interesting story—an accomplishment still all too rare in historical writing. Father Lucey has satisfied the requirements of historical research both in his collection of data and in the interpretation of his factual material. But his scholarship does not obtrude upon the reader, for the author does not make us follow his research step by step. Instead, he has presented us with an interestingly told story of Edward Kavanagh's life, from the days of his birth in 1795 until his death a half century later.

The American historian will probably be indebted to Father Lucey for two points in particular in connection with this study: 1) Edward Kavanagh's career, set in New England, shows that Congregationalist prejudice against Irish Catholics was not always as severe and as one-sided as Catholics seem commonly to believe. The author shows how at least one man did not suffer ostracism for his religion—nor did his religion ever suffer for his political ambitions. 2) Information on Kavanagh's diplomatic work includes a good bit of material on our relations with Portugal and on the arrangements leading up to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty which the reviewer is confident few American historians have seen.

St. Louis University

THOMAS P. NEILL.

Zachary Taylor, by Brainerd Dyer. Baton Rouge Louisiana State University Press. 1946. pp. xii + 455. \$4.00

Forty years a soldier and sixteen months president of the country, sums up the career of Zachary Taylor. Of his youth very little is known, and there are similar gaps in our knowledge of brief periods of his later life. When he was commissioned a lieutenant in May, 1808, at the age of twenty-three, he began a military career that was to be terminated only by his election to the presidency. His first assignment to the Wabash country introduced him to Indian warfare, with the raids, massacres, and punitive expeditions, that were to concern him for decades. In turn he saw service at Ft. Howard on Green Bay, at Ft. Snelling in Minnesota, at Ft. Crawford, in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. After participation in the Black Hawk war, and command at Ft. Crawford for five years, he was transferred to Florida and the Seminole war to play its hide and seek game for more than two years. Then he was placed in command of all of the troops in the vicinity of New Orleans and Baton Rouge, was later shifted to the Texas border for a year of watchful waiting, and finally ordered to the Rio Grande on the eve of the war with Mexico. In this contest 'Old Rough and Ready' won distinction by his victories at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, was raised to the rank of major general, and became a national hero when his outnumbered troops vanquished the foe at Buena Vista.

'Old Zach' was immediately boomed for president by friends, admirers, and Whig politicians who resolved to make capital of his popularity. Thus this frontier military man, relatively unknown before the war with Mexico, was catapulted from political obscurity to the national limelight. But as Taylor had never voted and knew no party affiliation he was cold to the suggestion; gradually, however, his opposition melted away, particularly when he saw in his candidacy a means of thwarting Scott and Cass whom he had come to dislike in the extreme. Inexperienced as he was in politics, his letters and words were indiscreet and so contradictory as to create doubts as to his attachment to Whig principles. Eventually, by disregarding his dubious acceptance of the Whig cause, a political marriage of expediency was arranged by the nomination of Taylor, recent convert, southerner and slave owner, and Fillmore of New York about whose Whig orthodoxy there could be no question. Even

so this strange alliance was high-lighted by the fact that he ran for the presidency on no platform and without a declaration of principles, save his insistence that he was a national rather than a party man.

After his election his political inexperience was once more revealed in his choice of a weak cabinet, and in his inability to assume leadership in that body. Moreover, during his brief tenure of office he was handicapped by the fact that the Whigs were a hybrid party, split into irreconcilable factions. As president he advocated friendly relations with all nations, yet such was his insistence on the rights and honor of the country that he was uncompromising with small and weak nations. Try as he might to play down the question of slavery and insist on the preservation of the Union at all cost, slavery became the engrossing topic in Congress where bitter words stirred emotions to such a degree that members carried concealed arms. In reality Taylor furthered the crisis by his opposition to Clay's efforts at compromise; his opposition was due in part to the feud between himself and Clay, and partly to his notion that acceptance of Clay's proposals would be a reflection on his own suggestions and on himself personally.

Long years of military service on the frontier left their impress on Taylor; he was always the soldier, and the son of the frontier, inured to hardship and danger, accustomed to vigorous action alternating with a hum-drum existence. As a man he was simple in dress and habits, honest and straightforward, and hard working but stubborn and partisan; as a soldier he was courageous, economical to a degree, considerate of his men; as a general 'Old Rough and Ready' scarcely rose above mediocrity, for he lacked tactical skill, knew little of the art of war, often failed to foresee needs, and then grew impatient over delays due to his lack of foresight. Taylor was no politician, and he failed to reach the heights of true statesmanship.

The author of this biography must be commended for his success in avoiding the extremes of adulation and censure. His impartiality is refreshing; for while he acknowledges 'Old Zach's' good qualities he is not blind to his limitations and defects. Freely, but not unduly, he criticizes Taylor for his partisanship and refusal to cooperate with Polk's administration, for the unauthorized liberal terms accorded the enemy at Monterey, for his violation of orders in engaging the enemy at Buena Vista, for his harsh censure of the Indiana troops in this battle, and finally for his attitude towards Clay and the latter's sincere attempts at compromise.

For this biography Dr. Dyer has relied chiefly on the Taylor papers, but he has availed himself of all sources of information as his bibliography attests. To his narrative he appends three of Taylor's testamentary papers, and thirteen pages of critical evaluation of authorities. At times battles are described with over-emphasis on details; at times, too, chronological identification of events is too vague. And the microscopic markings on the map of Florida render it quite useless to the reader as a guide to the Seminole war. Since this biography is a full-length portrait of 'Old Zach', it answers a real need; it is a worthwhile addition to the Southern Biography Series sponsored by the Louisiana State University Press.

West Baden College

CHARLES H. METZGER, S. J.

The Shaping of The American Tradition, text by Louis M. Hacker, documents edited by Louis M. Hacker and Helène S. Zahler. New York. Columbia University Press. 1947. pp. xxiv + 1247. Textbook edition, \$6.00

Mr. Hacker, always stimulating, comes up with a new approach to a volume of documents on American history. Not only has he given the customary introductions to the selections which he has chosen; he has gone far beyond that and in the fulsome essays with which he prefaces each of the eleven sections of this book he has practically given us a new text for the history of the United States. The scheme fits in with the Columbia University plan for the general survey courses. Other professors may not find the system workable, but they will most certainly find Mr. Hacker's book interesting and his choice of documents stimulating.

Each of the eleven sections, with one or other exception, is portioned out to an introduction covering the period under discussion; this is followed by four divisions: The American Mind, The American Scene, American Problems, and The United States and the World. The documentary selections are pertinent and enlightening. Foreign observers are regularly called upon to view The American Scene. Leaders in American intellectual, business, and social life keynote The American Mind and American Problems. Economists as well as statesmen and diplomats find their views reproduced in the fourth section.

This reviewer must confess to an initial revolt on reading the first several sentences of the book. He agrees that "Americans have always been convinced of the unique qualities of their civilization." But he is very much in disagreement that "They have not sought to persuade other peoples to abandon their own ways of life; nor have they been too clamorous about the superiority of their own." But, once through the first paragraph, he consistently found much to praise and many grounds for hearty agreement. This is a unique presentation of the American story.

St. Louis University

JOHN F. BANNON, S.J.

Church History

St. Augustine, The First Catechetical Instruction (De Catechizandis Rudibus), translated and annotated by Joseph P. Christopher, Ph.D. Westminster. The Newman Bookshop. 1946. pp. 171. \$2.50

This is the second publication of the series: *Ancient Christian Writers* (The Works of the Fathers in Translation) under the general editorship of Fathers J. Quasten and J. C. Plumpe. The author, who published an English version of the *De Cat. Rudibus* (1926) in the Catholic University Patristic Series, offers in the present volume a revision of his earlier translation. The Benedictine text is used as the base of the translation (with a few emendations), but no Latin text is printed in the present publication.

The character of Augustine's treatise is probably well known to students of Church history. A man named Deogratias, a deacon in the Church at Carthage, asked Augustine for advice on the instruction of people preparing for membership in the Catholic Church. St. Augustine answered this request with a very thorough exposition of the principles and practice of such teaching. He included two examples of actual instructions for *rudes*. Throughout the work, we find him adapting his knowledge of rhetoric, literature, psychology, religion and human nature to this particular task. The work throws much light on Augustine's character and abilities as a teacher. It also happens to be a high-point in the literature of early catechetical practice. The church historian should find this work of special interest, but the modern educator could learn from it, too.

Father Christopher has done a good job as translator and annotator. The *Introduction* (pp. 3-11) prepares for the intelligent reading of the text. Only one point may be questioned in it, that is the dating of the work *circa* 405. This date is determined on the basis of Wundt's chronology, and no further effort is made to justify the lateness of the date. There are several years, following 400, to which no short works are assigned by the older chronologies (of which the researches of Tillemont are pretty much the source). Later scholars like to fill in this apparent vacuum by pushing works on a few years from the much-filled year 400. All this is highly speculative, and it remains true that the *De Cat. Rudibus* was written at about the time of the completion of the *Confessions*.

The almost fifty pages of notes, in this printing, are adequate and scholarly. Father Christopher devotes many of these notes to grammatical and rhetorical considerations, but there is sufficient historical documentation. There is also a useful index.

While we congratulate the translator on a work well done, we may lament the following fact, for which Father Christopher is in no way responsible. There has never been a complete English translation of the Fathers, or even of St. Augustine, under Catholic auspices. Catholic students without a reading knowledge of Latin have had to use an Anglican version of St. Augustine for most of the works. Now, two different publishers are publishing Catholic translation series of the Fathers, and these series are coming out in competition with each other! There are not so many competent Catholic Patristic scholars that they can afford to duplicate work of this kind. Reason, Christian charity, and business considerations ought to work to effect some sort of compromise between the two publishers, before the thing has gone too far.

St. Louis University

VERNON J. BOURKE.

La Santa Sede y La Emancipacion Mexicana, by Luis Medina Ascensio. Guadalajara, Mexico. Imprenta "Gráfica". 1946. pp. xx + 223.

The present volume is a republication under a single cover of the several lengthy and erudite articles which Dr. Medina Ascensio brought forth in the review *Estudios Historicos*, of which he is editor. In its present form the author has added ten important

documentary appendices and has enhanced the general value of the work with the inclusion of a carefully prepared index.

The subject is one of considerable interest to the historians of the Catholic Church in the Americas, especially in Mexico. It is well known that at the moment when the former Spanish colonies broke with the mother-country, the colonial Church was catapulted into a very serious situation. Spain brought pressure on the Holy See in an endeavor to prevent Vatican recognition of the new republics, thus hoping to defeat, through the Church, the aspirations of the American patriots. On the American side new governments seemed to take it for granted that the privileges of the *Patronato Real* were inherited along with political power. The American churchmen went through trying times. As the years went by, the episcopacy dwindled in numbers, death taking its usual toll, and a moment came when a country like Mexico had no bishop. The story of the relations of the Mexican Church with the Holy See during those trying years and with the home government is the theme of this work. It is excellently and temperately done, after careful research in both Mexican and Roman archives. The study will also serve as an answer to those who, for lack of information, persist in affirming that the Mexican clergy formed a considerable anti-republic party in the early days of the nation's history. There was opposition, but its motivation was not anti-independent-Mexico; it sprang from convictions that were, to say the least, highly patriotic.

St. Louis University

JOHN F. BANNON, S. J.

Social Science

Struggle For Freedom, by Sterling E. Edmunds, LL. D.
Milwaukee. The Bruce Publishing Co. 1946. pp. xiii
+ 309. \$4.50

The book under review, written by a former professor of international law at St. Louis University, is evidently based on the admonition of Demosthenes: "There is one safeguard known generally to the wise, which is an advantage and security to all, but especially in democracies as against despots. What is it? Distrust!"

The historical perspective of the author seems to be a combination of Marxism and racism. The Marxist interpretation may be suggested in the following quotation:

However much it may be glossed with romance superficial commentators, . . . history, in its internal aspect, presents the same story of conflict, among individuals, classes, groups and organizations, each striving to seize and use the power of the state for its personal or class benefit at the expense of the rest of society.

The possession of political power is the one unfailing means by which its possessor may emancipate himself from the necessary toil and sacrifice by which alone the good things of life are created, and may enjoy these good things, by appropriating them from those who have undergone the toil and sacrifice to create them.

Apparently, it is well-nigh inconceivable that anyone may either desire the general welfare, or that government can promote the general welfare.

Racism is evidenced throughout the book. It is the author's contention that the only race which has ever even partially succeeded in checking the inevitable tendency of governments to exploit the governed, has been the Anglo-Saxon race, possessed of "unique qualities of perseverance and courage, conspicuous above those of any other people." Therefore, the conclusion is reached that the contemporary government of Great Britain, though subject to dangers, is and will remain sound, since the country is racially unchanged; "her Parliament is still composed of Englishmen, and Englishmen still preside in her courts." But what of the United States? "The people of the United States once had this history and tradition, but the English stock, the Anglo-Americans, who transplanted Magna Charta and its principles into America, and who have fought a losing battle to sustain them, have been overwhelmed and submerged by a vast agglomeration of aliens drawn from every corner of Europe, who now dominate the political system." Aliens indeed!

The first third of the book is devoted to a summary and rather distorted account of English Constitutional history. The remainder purports to be an analysis of the gradual decay of American political institutions, from the purity and wisdom displayed in the Constitutional Convention, to the apparently complete corruption of the present time. The Declaration of Independence, incidentally, is mentioned just once, and thereafter the principles which it enunciates are forgotten. The "distrust"

of democracy, which was characteristic of the Founding Fathers, is referred to with unmitigated approval. In fact, the author concludes, it is the extension of the democratic principle in the U. S. which lies at the root of all of our present political evils. He states that "the only instances in history in which a democracy has ever produced a condition of social order, with the semblance of justice, have been those paradoxical ones in which it ceased to exist, by surrendering its supreme power into the hands of a single autocrat." Taxation to meet the needs of the "underprivileged one third", for mothers and children, and for the unemployed, is sarcastically referred to as taxation for private and class purposes. Evidently, the graduated income tax, the social security legislation of both national and state governments, and practically all of the regulatory statutes limiting individual and group freedom, are to be condemned.

Throughout the book, a rather considerable ignorance of history and of political science is revealed. For example, it is stated that after the outbreak of the Revolution, "nearly all" of the new States called conventions to establish their new governments. Actually, only two of the thirteen did so; in the other cases, the revolutionary legislatures merely assumed this power. Again, it is stated that "at no time before World War I had we considered our form of government a democracy, nor were we interested in the defense and extension of democracy." This indicates a unique view of American history since the Jacksonian Era. Again, it is charged that "all of the vast new power progressively regulating the daily lives of the people has been centered in the president, and is administered under his direction by administrative boards of his own appointment, with no check upon the fitness or character of the members." Evidently the author forgets about the requirement of confirmation by the Senate in practically every case; evidently too, he has never heard of the case of *Humphreys vs. the United States* (1935), in which the Supreme Court spelled out real limits on presidential control over the administrative agencies.

The author's solution to all the evils which he detects in our modern government is not too realistic. "We appear to be on the eve of a decision—if it has not already been made—which will determine whether the American democracy can and will recognize itself as federally and constitutionally organized, and return to the historic system in which every official and every private person acts under and subject to the law" Throughout, however, it is evident that Mr. Edmunds is not too hopeful.

It should also be pointed out that the book is completely without documentation, though a short bibliography is offered as an appendix. In the opinion of this reviewer, *Struggle for Freedom* cannot be recommended as either accurate or objective.

St. Louis University

PAUL G. STEINBICKER.

A Guide to Historical Method, by Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., edited by Jean Delanglez, S. J. New York. Fordham University Press. 1946. pp. xv + 482. \$4.50

Father Garraghan's work on *Historical Method* is the fruit of the better part of twenty and more years of effort. The present reviewer saw the notes for this book when he studied the subject under the author just twenty years ago. It is fortunate that the book was in quite good shape for presentation to a publisher shortly before Father Garraghan died some five years ago. His able associate of the Institute of Jesuit History in Chicago, Father Jean Delanglez assumed the task of seeing the work through the press. This is, of course, Father Garraghan's last book and it is a fitting crown for the man's monumental labors in the field for which he spent himself. The book is clear, orderly and concise. It should soon become a necessary handbook for historians. It is an essential for almost every library.

When we recall that this is the first really worthwhile book on the subject since Bernheim we readily realize how valuable the book becomes. Unquestionably it is the only study in English which deserves to be considered adequate. It has the great advantage that most exemplifications of the principles of historical method are offered in the field of American history. The book neglects no phase of its subject, nor does it fail to offer a mine of bibliographical helps in even the most minute departments of research. There is included, by way of appendix, a brief style book which will certainly be of aid to many.

For this reviewer, one chapter in the book is most significant, that which deals with the philosophy of history. Into this Father Garraghan poured his years of thought and analysis. The author of this book was a great historian whose thoughts on the philosophy of his chosen field are important.

St. Louis University

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY, S. J.

THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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